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ABSTRACT

This document is part of a series of units in United States history. It is designed for teachers to use in teaching colonial history and the American Revolution in greater depth than that provided in many textbooks. The unit contains 16 chapters, the first of which explains the unit's focus on four kinds of questions of interest to historians. These questions are: (1) contextual questions, (2) factual questions, (3) moral or value questions, and (4) questions of explanation. Chapters 2-4 look primarily at contextual questions, introducing students to the social, political, economic, and ideological settings of the Revolution. The central section of the unit, chapters 5-15, is concerned with both factual and moral or value questions. Students not only learn about the events that led up to the Revolution, they also compare conflicting accounts of these events. They learn a three-criterion test for determining whether specific acts of protest are justified and apply this test to a number of examples of colonial protest. A central activity in this portion of the unit is reenactment of the trial of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre. Following this experience, students examine the similarities and differences between the Boston Massacre and the confrontation between Vietnam war protesters and a contingent of the National Guard at Kent State University 200 years later. Other major activities in this portion of the unit include analyzing the Declaration of Independence and debating whether the Revolution was justified. The final chapter invites students to act as historians, choosing among three schools of historical interpretation and writing essays detailing how the interpretation explains the Revolution's causes. (DK)

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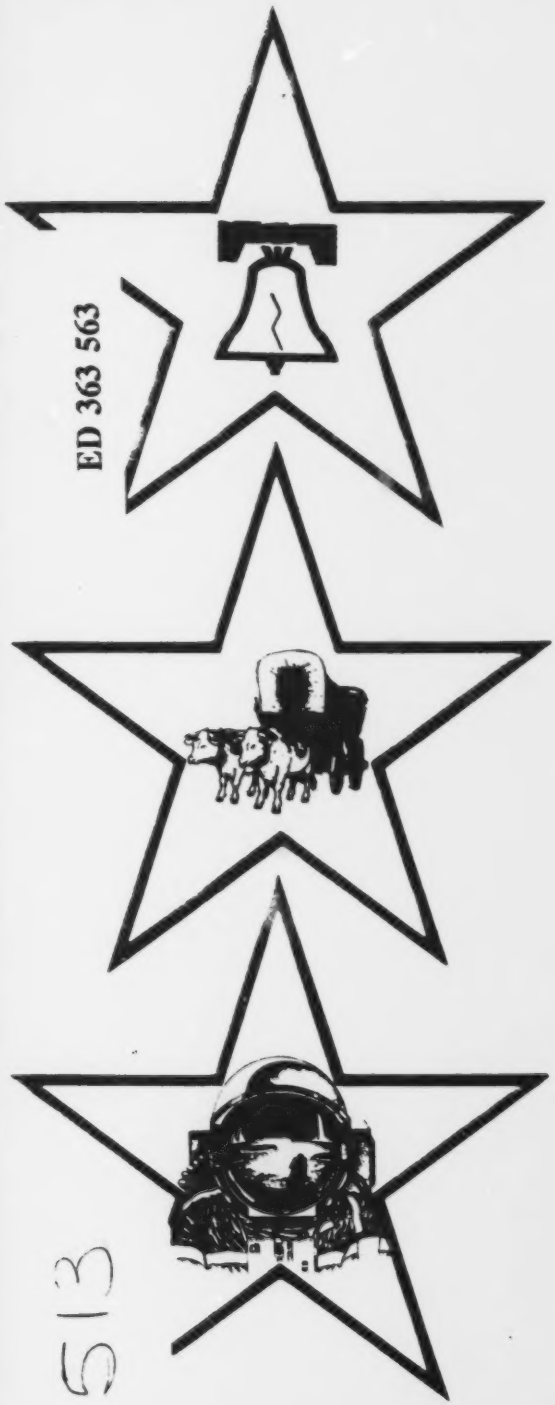

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THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by Thomas Ladenburg

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Thomas Ladenburg

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Boulder, Colorado
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FOREWORD

Recent research indicates rather clearly that students' knowledge of U.S. history falls far short of what we as educators would deem to be desirable or even adequate. It is less clear, however, that some researchers' indictments of social studies curricula as too focused on process do not explain the shortfalls. In fact, analysis of such test data as the National Assessment of Educational Progress indicates that students perform less well on questions that assess their skills in gathering and processing information than on those that evaluate their understanding of facts and concepts.

In a 1986 article in *Social Education*, Fred M. Newmann may have identified issues that strike closer to the truth behind our difficulties in history – and more broadly social studies – instruction: the desire for broad coverage at the expense of depth of understanding, students disengagement (or boredom!) with social studies, and mediocre teaching. Newmann suggested a three-pronged attack on these problems: replacing coverage with depth, engaging students through modifications in teaching strategies and improvements in school culture, and encouragement of teacher collegiality.

Because Newmann's recommendations resonate with the staff of the Social Science Education Consortium, we are happy to be publishing this volume, the second in a series of U.S. history units. Each unit will enable teachers to delve into a particular topic or period in depth. In addition, because the units have been used by the author and scores of other teachers in Massachusetts, they embody successful teaching practices that others can easily implement.

As we publish additional units, we welcome users' feedback. In fact, we would like nothing better than to be the facilitator for a network of history teachers exchanging ideas and materials that work. We invite your participation.

James R. Giese, Executive Director
Social Science Education Consortium

INTRODUCTION

Unit Overview

This unit focuses on four kinds of questions examined by historians. These questions, which are introduced in Chapter 1, are contextual questions, factual questions, moral/value questions, and questions of explanation. Chapters 2-4 look primarily at contextual questions, introducing students to the social, political, economic, and ideological settings of the Revolution.

The central section of the unit, Chapters 5-15, is concerned with both factual and moral/value questions. Students not only learn about the events that led up to the Revolution, they also compare conflicting accounts of these events. They learn a three-criterion test for determining whether specific acts of protest are justified and apply this test to a number of examples of colonial protest. A central activity in this portion of the unit is reenactment of the trial of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre. Following this experience, students examine the similarities and differences between the Boston Massacre and the events at Kent State University 200 years later. Other major activities in this portion of the unit include analyzing the Declaration of Independence and debating whether the Revolution was justified.

The final chapter invites students to act as historians, choosing among three schools of historical interpretation related to the causes of the Revolution and writing essays detailing how the chosen interpretation explains the Revolution's causes.

Purpose and Rationale

This unit involves students in examining historical issues from several perspectives. First, they learn the political, economic, social, and ideological context in which events related to the American Revolution unfolded. They deal with moral/ethical dilemmas raised in this context and compare those dilemmas with a contemporary dilemma, learning in the process that many issues recur at different times throughout history. Finally, adopting a different perspective by playing historian, students analyze the events they have learned about and develop an explanation for the causes of the American Revolution.

At the very least, students who complete the unit will learn a great deal about the events leading up to the American Revolution. At best, however, students will have done far more. They will have thought through important issues related to the nature of the social contract, the right to rebel, and the use of violence, whether by citizens or authority. They will have taken several perspectives on the issues, acting at some points as advocates of a position and at other times reflecting as critics. They will have been required not only to think through the issues but to organize their thoughts, present them orally, and then commit those thoughts to paper. They will have participated in a unique inquiry experience that effectively combines both the affective and cognitive domains.

Summary of Chapter Activities

The following outline of each chapter may serve as a guide for teachers in preparing their lessons.

Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Study of History

This chapter introduces students to four kinds of questions examined by historians: contextual questions, factual questions, moral/value questions, and questions of explanation. To illustrate these kinds of questions, the chapter uses two examples – the Battle of Lexington and a fictional contemporary case involving a clash between a demonstrator and a police officer.

Chapter 2: Social Class in Colonial America

The first part of this chapter begins with two short, fictional vignettes contrasting social classes in contemporary America. The rest of the section presents four excerpts from primary sources illustrating colonial upper, middle, working, and slave classes. After reading these materials, students write an

essay on social class in the colonies and compare their essays with the work of Jackson Turner Main, who has written that colonial society, while partially aristocratic, possessed potential for social and economic democracy.

Chapter 3: The Branches of Government

Like the previous chapter, this one employs primary source documents, this time to help students develop an understanding of how the British and colonial governments were organized. Differences in the functioning of the branches of government in the colonies and Britain are compared. Comparisons are also drawn with current U.S. government. At the end of the class period, students debate whether there was more democracy in the colonies or in Great Britain.

Chapter 4: The Colonies Under Mercantile Trade Laws

Students are involved in graphing and map exercises in this chapter, which focuses on the effects of Britain's mercantile trade laws on the colonies. The differential effects of the trade laws on various regions of the colonies are examined in terms of the varying economies of the regions.

Chapter 5: The French and Indian War

The focus of this chapter is the French and Indian War. Students learn about the conflicts between the English and French over land; they also read about George Washington's mission to warn the French that they were encroaching on British land, examining a copy of Washington's orders and an excerpt from the future president's diary. Students complete a map worksheet and participate in a debate over whether the war was started by the colonists for their own gain or was just part of a larger conflict between European rivals.

Chapter 6: The Problems of Empire

Working in small groups, students discuss the problems faced by the British after their victory in the French and Indian War. These problems included what to do with the conquered lands, what to do about lack of enforcement of trade regulations, and how to pay for the war and future defense of the conquered territories. Students choose from among some of the solutions considered by British policymakers and compare their choices with the actual actions taken by the British government.

Chapter 7: The Stamp Act and Virtual Representation

This chapter explains why the British thought the colonists should pay the stamp tax and why the colonists opposed it. Arguments from both sides based on primary sources are presented. Students debate the issue and write essays summarizing their views to conclude the chapter.

Chapter 8: Methods of Protest

This chapter describes four protests against the Stamp Act. Students are introduced to a three-criterion test for determining whether a specific act of protest is justified. The test is presented through a sample essay; students then use the test in constructing their own brief essays evaluating the protests described in the chapter.

Chapter 9: The Boston Massacre

This chapter provides an account of the events leading up to the Boston Massacre, as well as the Massacre itself. Students then reenact the trial of the British soldiers; in so doing, they must decide whether the massacre was intentional and unjustified or whether the soldiers fired in self-defense.

Chapter 10: Kent State and Recurring History

This chapter draws an analogy between the Boston Massacre and the events at Kent State University in 1970, when four young people were killed by National Guardsmen. Students read about the Kent State incident and look for similarities and differences between the events in Massachusetts and Ohio.

Chapter 11: The Tea Party and the Intolerable Acts

This chapter focuses on the Tea Act, the Boston Tea Party, and the retaliatory Intolerable Acts. Students write essays arguing that the Tea Party or the Intolerable Acts were or were not justified and defend their views in a classroom debate.

Chapter 12: The Battle of Lexington

This chapter presents an inquiry exercise on the Battle of Lexington. Students read four conflicting eyewitness accounts, as well as historical analyses taking very different views of the battle. Questions accompanying the chapter suggest criteria students can use in evaluating primary and secondary sources.

Chapter 13: By What Right—The State of Nature and the Right to Rebel

This chapter begins by raising the issue of when laws may be broken as a means of introducing students to the ideas of the philosophers of the Enlightenment regarding the state of nature, the social contract, and the right to rebel. The contrasting views of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke are presented. Students work in small groups, interviewing one another on the issues raised in the chapter.

Chapter 14: Understanding the Declaration of Independence

As its title suggests, this chapter focuses on interpreting the Declaration. Students are asked to memorize Jefferson's statement of Locke's ideas on the nature of government and to take a position describing the Declaration as an accurate statement of the causes of the Revolution, mere propaganda, or a statement of America's ideals.

Chapter 15: Patriots and Tories

This chapter asks students to reflect on what they have learned in the entire unit. They play the roles of Tories and patriots, debating whether the Revolution was justified based on how the colonists fared under British rule, who actually instigated the various conflicts, and whether the British had the right to make laws for the colonies.

Chapter 16: The Causes of the American Revolution

This chapter briefly presents three schools of historic interpretation related to the causes of the Revolution, namely the political, economic, and psychological. Students are asked to write an essay detailing how the interpretation they think is most persuasive explains the causes of the Revolution.

Components of the Program

Three kinds of materials are presented to help teachers use the unit. First are the techer directions, which include the following information for each chapter: an overview of the content and procedures for that chapter, objectives, an estimate of the time required, a list of materials needed, step-by-step procedures for teaching the lesson, and an assignment for students to complete in preparation for the next chapter.

For some chapters, handouts other than the student reading are also provided. These are worksheets or directions for other kinds of activities. The masters for these handouts are presented immediately following the teacher directions for the chapter, allowing them to be distributed separately if you wish.

Each chapter also includes student reading material. The student reading material is presented at the end of the book (see page 63). For cost reasons, the material is printed on both sides of the paper. If you do not have a copy machine that can handle this type of original, you will need to copy one side of each page and insert the copies with the originals to form a complete master set for duplication. We

regret any inconvenience this may cause. If copied and stapled together as a book, the readings can be reused.

CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY

Overview:

This chapter introduces students to the four kinds of questions they will be discussing in this unit:

- Contextual questions – that is, what were the conditions (economic, social, and political) in the particular time being studied?
- Factual questions about the events that occurred – that is, what were the significant events that we should know about?
- Moral/value questions – who was "right"? What "should" have been done?
- Questions of explanation – why did events occur as they did? what was the most important underlying reasons for the actions taken by the people at the time?

To illustrate these kinds of questions, Chapter 1 uses two examples – the Battle of Lexington and a fictional contemporary case involving a clash between a demonstrator and a police officer. The fictional case is intended to help students see that the kinds of questions they will be asked to consider in this unit are not unlike questions they need to be able to answer to understand the world around them. In responding to these different kinds of questions, students will be asked to reason, to write and speak more effectively, and to play an active part in the learning process.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. State and explain the four kinds of questions they will be asked in this unit.
2. Explain how these questions may apply in the case of the Battle of Lexington.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 1 and Handout 1-1 for all students

Procedure:

1. Allow students to take turns reading the chapter aloud; answer questions, emphasizing points you consider to be significant. You may wish to point out that there are other fields of historical research in addition to the four listed in the reading. These might include military, cultural, and religious history, for example.

2. Discuss the "Chapter Questions." Some possible answers are given below.

   1. Possible definitions/explanations:

      - The four questions historians ask are (a) What were the conditions at the time? (b) What happened? (c) Who was right? (d) Why did it happen?
      - social history – studying the way people lived, their customs and lifestyles.
      - economic history – studying how people worked; how goods were bought, sold, and transported; and how this process was regulated.
      - political history – studying how people were governed, including how laws were made and enforced.
      - intellectual history – studying what people believed about the natural and human-made world and how they communicated these beliefs to one another.
      - primary sources – first-person accounts; accounts by people who were actually there and saw the event.

- secondary sources – accounts written and recorded by people who did not actually see the event (most history books are secondary sources).
- immediate causes – events that lead directly to another event.
- underlying causes – conditions, such as social or economic circumstances, that cause events to happen.
- first shot – event at Lexington Green historians still do not have all the "facts" about.
- Battle of Lexington – event that began the American Revolution.
- demonstrator who threw the rock – illustrates how the four kinds of questions asked in this unit apply to events happening today.

2. Objects that illustrate the different kinds of history might include the following: (a) *political* – a book of laws, picture of legislature in action, portrait of a president; (b) *social* – clothes worn by different people, historic houses that have been preserved, shackles of slaves, diary or private correspondence; (c) *economic* – a factory, the bill of lading from a ship; (d) *intellectual* – book, newspaper, etc.; and (e) *military* – soldiers' uniform, dispatch sent at time of war.

3. Provide additional practice identifying the four types of questions and distinguishing among the four areas of historical study introduced in the lesson. One way to do this would be to review recent events (perhaps using the front page of a newspaper), asking students to indicate into which area(s) of study each event falls. To review the types of questions, have students look at and categorize the questions in one chapter of their history texts.

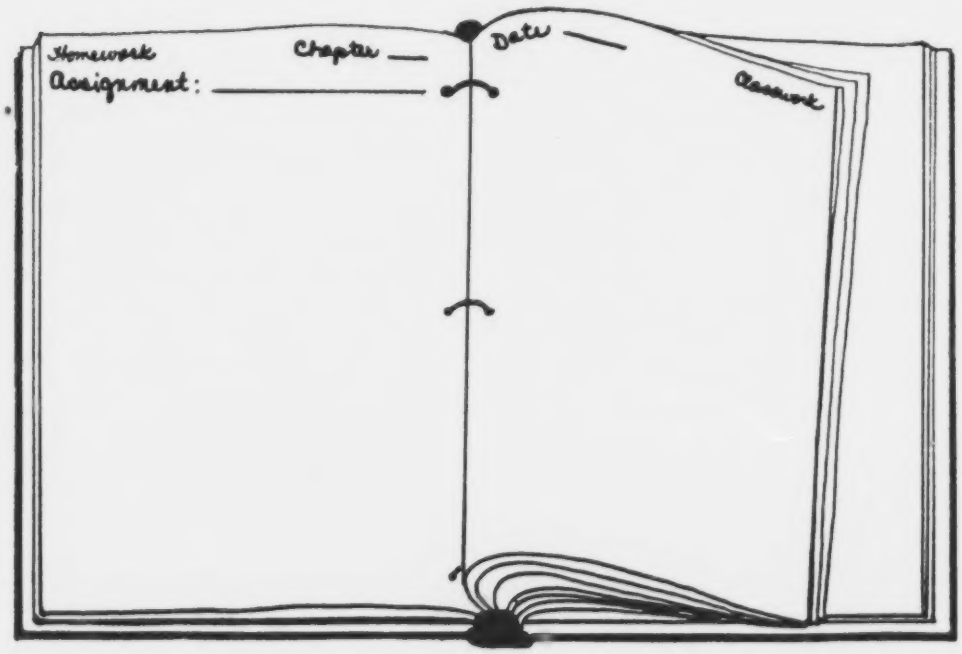
4. Distribute Handout 1-1 and go over the instructions for keeping the notebook. Stress that students can develop their own formats if they wish. If notebooks will be graded, be sure to tell students how they will be graded.

Preparation for Chapter 2:

Assign students the first half of Chapter 2, explaining that it presents information about social history through primary sources (diaries, an autobiography,and court records). Tell students that the chapter introduces the concept of social class through fictional vignettes about two teen-agers living in New York City. Based on this introduction, students should develop a definition of social class to discuss the next day. You may also want to assign students to complete the definition/explanation questions for the first part of the chapter as homework. With advanced students, you may briefly review the main parts of an essay and ask them to write a brief essay before the next class period, although class discussion of Chapter 2 prior to the writing may improve the quality of the essays.

MAKING A UNIT NOTEBOOK

As you complete this unit on the American Revolution, you will be writing essays, participating in a mock trial, and completing several other activities. To help you complete these assignments, you will keep a unit notebook, recording information on each chapter. Your notebook will include homework assignments as well as work completed in class. Because the assignments you do at home will usually cover the same topic as the classwork, you should organize your notebook so you can see both at the same time. For example, you might put homework and classwork on facing pages, as shown below.



CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL CLASS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

Overview:

The first part of this chapter begins with two short, fictional vignettes that contrast social classes in contemporary America. The rest of the section presents four excerpts from primary sources illustrating the lives of colonial upper, middle, working, and slave classes. Included are selections from the diary of the aristocratic William Byrd of Virginia, part of an autobiography in which Devereaux Jarratt expresses fear from seeing the "gentlefolk" wearing wigs, a court record telling the sad story of an indentured servant deceived by his master and badly treated by the mistress, and excerpts from the diary of a tutor on the punishments meted out to slaves.

Students read and discuss these source materials and then write an essay on social class in colonial America. In the second part of the chapter, they compare their essays with a secondary source based on the work of Jackson Turner Main (*The Social Structure of Colonial America*). Main's thesis was that colonial society, while partially aristocratic, possessed potential for social and economic democracy. Students discuss this thesis and the information supporting it and compare colonial class divisions with those in modern America.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Define the term *social class*.

2. Identify and describe four social classes in colonial America.

3. Write a short essay on social class in colonial America; the essay will have a thesis, foreshadowing, and evidence to support each point.

4. Compare what can be learned from primary and secondary sources.

5. Discuss contemporary social class differences and suggest possible remedies.

Time Required: 2 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 2 and Handout 2-1 for all students

Procedure:

1. Review the assignment from the previous day. Students were to read the first half of Chapter 2, answer definition/explanation questions, and develop a definition of *social class*. Be sure students understand why the four readings in the first half of the chapter are primary sources – they were written by people who witnessed the events they described.

2. Discuss the definition/explanation questions accompanying the first part of the chapter. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- social class – groups in society based, among other things, on differences in income, occupation, and power.
- John and Jason – two young men living in an American city but with very different lifestyles because of their distinctly different social classes.
- primary source – evidence reported by people who witnessed an event.
- William Byrd – one of the richest Americans of his time; owned a plantation in Virginia and wrote in a secret diary.
- the governor – friend of Byrd's on whom he called.

- Devereaux Jarratt – wrote an autobiography illustrative of the lives of middle-class colonists.
- wig – feared adornment that symbolized upper-class power over middle class; mentioned in Jarratt's autobiography.
- gentlefolk – name used by Jarratt in referring to upper-class colonists.
- Virginia servant – working class individual who was hired as a tutor but cheated and mistreated; struck back at mistress and was hauled into court.
- fair promise – what the employer of the Virginia servant said when he hired the servant; this promise was broken.
- curry comb – used with salt to severely punish slaves.

3. Discuss the second question accompanying this half of the chapter. Help students to understand that compared to William Byrd, the Virginia servant had next to no power over his own destiny and no wealth. Byrd could punish his black and white servants with impunity and was one of the wealthiest men in America. The Virginia servant had no money and was deceived and mistreated by his master and mistress. Like Byrd, the servant had an education, but unlike Byrd, he had no opportunity to use it.

4. Distribute Handout 2-1 and go over it with the class. The handout explains the essay assignment in some detail, focusing on the three most important parts of an essay: thesis with foreshadowing of major arguments, main body, and conclusions. Then help students formulate some thesis statements on social class in colonial America. You might, for example, put a thesis statement on the board and ask students what major points they could make to support the thesis. For each of the points they "foreshadow," students should write one strong supporting sentence, using evidence from the source material. Go through the same procedure with one or two student-suggested thesis statements.

5. Allow time for students to begin working on their essays in class, answering questions and providing assistance as needed. Ask students to complete their essays for homework.

A example of what a student essay with short thesis, foreshadowing, and main body may be like follows:

There were four social classes in colonial America. (thesis) These classes were the upper, middle, working, and slave classes. (foreshadowing) The upper class consisted of aristocrats like William Byrd, who had great power over their servants and/or slaves. (main body supporting the first point foreshadowed) The middle class consisted of people like Jarratt, who feared and respected the upper class. (main body supporting the first point foreshadowed) The working class consisted of people like the Virginia servant, who had little control over his own destiny. (main body supporting the third point foreshadowed) The slaves like those described by Fithian were poorly fed and often punished. (main body supporting the fourth point foreshadowed) Thus, we see there were four distinctly different social classes in colonial America. (conclusion)

6. At the beginning of the next class period, help students evaluate their own essays. Ask each student to underline the thesis in his/her essay, put two lines under the foreshadowing, and three lines under the conclusion. Then have them place a "1" on the foreshadowing for the first point and a "1" on the part of the essay that supports this argument. Have students repeat this process for the other points they developed. Collect the essays; if possible, return the graded essays the next class period.

7. Draw a pyramid on the board and fill it in with the term *permanent working class* at the bottom and *working class, middle class, upper middle class,* and *upper class* at appropriate places. Remind students of the definition of *secondary source* and tell them they will be reading secondary-source material today. Read the remainder of Chapter 2 aloud with the class, asking students to add information from the reading to the pyramid. (You may need to remind students to add information on this chapter to their notebooks as well.) Go over the definition/explanation questions as a check on the information recorded on the chalkboard. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- Jackson Turner Main – historian whose ideas on social class are discussed in the chapter.
- slaves – 23 percent of the population; remained at the bottom of the permanent working class.
- indentured servants – came to America without paying for their passage; would work from two to seven years for person who paid it, and then were free to start life on own.
- working class – servants, unskilled laborers, farmers with little land and a poor harvest; often had no income, depended on their employer to give them food and shelter, or owned property worth less than $8,500 at today's prices; about 30 percent to 40 percent of the population.
- free workers – low-income workers with some land, some money, or some skill; could move around for better jobs and had a chance to move up into the middle class.
- middle class – mainly self-sufficient farmers, skilled workers, and craftsmen; 33 percent of the population; could afford a few luxuries and could even save some money.
- upper middle class – professionals, doctors, ministers, successful farmers and landowners, lawyers, ship captains, innkeepers, and most government officials; earned between $30,000 and $60,000, in today's dollars; had enough money to educate their sons for the professions.
- upper class – those whose estates were worth in the $600,000 range; plantation owners in the South; almost 50 percent of the merchants, most lawyers, and 10 percent of the landowners, ministers, and doctors; this class made up about 10 percent of the colonial population and controlled about 50 percent of the country's wealth. Some who were born in relative poverty, like Benjamin Franklin, rose to the upper class.

8. Discuss the remaining "Chapter Questions." Conclude the lesson with a discussion of whether the United States today has the same social class divisions as it did in colonial times. Your discussion could embrace the following issues: the effects of industrialization and the post-industrial economy; the plight of the homeless; welfare recipients; large city ghettos; race as a basis for restricted social mobility; influences of family, neighbors, schools, and teachers in changing patterns of behavior; who makes it into the upper class; importance of education; and others.

Preparation for Chapter 3:

Have students read Chapter 3, answer the definition/explanation questions, and come to class prepared to discuss whether there was more democracy in England or in the colonies. You might suggest that students take notes on the reading in a two-column chart comparing the colonial and British governments.

WRITING AN ESSAY ON SOCIAL CLASS

Your assignment is to write a brief essay on social class in colonial America. Your essay should have four major parts: a statement of your **thesis**, **foreshadowing**, a **main body**, and a **conclusion**. Here is what is meant by these terms:

Thesis. The main idea of an essay identified in the introduction. It usually can be stated in a single sentence or two. Two examples of a thesis statement are:

- "There were four social classes in colonial America."
- "The upper class in colonial America often seemed to be 'beating up on' the lower classes."

Foreshadow. Foreshadowing is stating very briefly the main arguments you will use to support your thesis. Usually less than a sentence is enough for each of the major points you intend to prove. For example, you might say "These classes were the upper, middle, working, and slave classes."

Main Body. This is the major part of your essay. It should provide support for each point you foreshadowed, using information from the primary sources you read as evidence.

Conclusion. The conclusion can simply restate your thesis. It does not have to be any more complicated than that, but you may want to explore the implications of your essay. For example, you might draw a conclusion about whether the differences among the social classes in colonial America were too great.

Note: Save these instructions in your notebook so you can refer to them when writing essays later in the unit.

CHAPTER 3: THE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT

Overview:

This chapter introduces the concept of the three branches of government and describes the function of each in 18th-century Great Britain, in the colonies, and in the United States today. Concepts and terms frequently used to describe the operation of government today are presented and explained. In addition, this chapter contains two primary source documents, one in which the governor of Massachusetts complains about how badly the legislature is treating him and another document in which the Virginia legislature complains about its governor. The chapter is presented through reading and discussion. At the end of the chapter, students are asked to debate whether there was more democracy in the colonies or in Great Britain.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Name the three branches of government and the function of each.

2. Compare the names and operations of the three branches of government in colonial America, pre-Revolutionary Britain, and the United States today.

3. Discuss whether the colonists had more democracy than the British living in England.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 3 for all students

Procedure:

1. Review the assignment from the previous day. Students were to read Chapter 3, do the definition/explanation questions, and be prepared to discuss whether there was more democracy in the colonies or in Great Britain.

2. Discuss the first two "Chapter Questions." Some possible answers are given below.

    1. Possible definitions/explanations are:

        - the three branches of government – executive, legislative, and judicial.
        - Parliament – name given the legislative branch in Great Britain.
        - Assembly – name given the legislative branch in the colonies.
        - Congress – name given the legislative branch in the United States.
        - the chief executive in Great Britain – the king (or queen).
        - two things the king could do that a president cannot – dismiss the legislature, close newspapers, tell people the religion to follow, and keep the job for life.
        - chief executive in the United States – the president.
        - governor – chief executive in a colony or state.
        - judicial review – power to declare laws unconstitutional.
        - patronage – rewards, such as jobs, politicians can give in exchange for votes or other favors.
        - Governor Shute – Massachusetts governor who had many complaints against the colonial legislature; these included yearly elections of legislature and their power to nominate the council and fix the governor's salary.

- Governor Nicholson – Virginia governor; the legislature complained he was rude and insulting, called too many and ill-timed meetings, abused the Council by not allowing debates, and threatened and bribed individual legislators.

2. The job of the legislative branch is to make the laws. The job of the executive is to enforce the laws. The job of the judicial branch is to interpret the laws and resolve conflict over the law.

3. Divide the class into groups of three or four. One-third of the groups should prepare 100-word statements arguing that the British had more democracy than the colonies; one-third of the groups should prepare 100-word statements making the counter arguments; and one-third of the groups should frame a series of questions to challenge the other groups. Allow about ten minutes for this small-group work.

As students are working in their groups, circulate around the room, providing help as needed. Some arguments on each side are summarized below for your use in assisting students:

Though a case could be made for either side on the question of democracy, it seems the colonists have the stronger claim. Because of their power over the purse, patronage, frequent elections, enfranchisement of between 50 and 80 percent of white males, and the requirement that legislators live in the district they represent, the colonists seemed to have much more control over their government than the people of England had over the British government. Furthermore, governors only stayed in the colonies on the average of five years, leaving them with too little time to forge a solid base of political alliances that would help them govern effectively.

The case that the British had more democracy would rest mainly on the arguments that the king could not veto laws passed by Parliament but could veto acts of the colonial legislators and that he appointed the governors. Furthermore, the colonists were living under English rule and thus were subjected to the whims of the king, Parliament, or both. During most of the colonial period, however, the British exercised relatively little power over the colonists; when they tried to assert their powers, the colonists first resisted and then rebelled.

The question of where there was more democracy relates to the causes of the American Revolution because one *could* argue that if the colonists already had more democracy than the British, they had no reason to revolt. Of course, the reasons for rebellion were broader than this one issue, although it was certainly a key factor.

4. When the groups have completed their work, open the question for discussion by the entire class.

5. As an extra credit project, students might research and report on local governments in the colonies (town meeting in New England and county sheriff in the southern colonies).

Preparation for Chapter 4:

Ask students to read the first half of Chapter 4 and be prepared to answer the definition/explanation questions and discuss the balance of trade between Great Britain and the colonies.

CHAPTER 4: THE COLONIES UNDER MERCANTILE TRADE LAWS

Overview:

This chapter introduces the notion of mercantilism and examines the effects of Britain's mercantile trade laws on the colonies. Students first read about the mercantile principle that a nation's wealth and power was based on its store of precious metals. They learn that Britain was not able to find stores of gold or silver. Having a favorable balance of trade with their American colonies, however, resulted in a favorable flow of gold and silver. Students learn how the Navigation Acts and others affecting colonial commerce were designed to obtain a favorable balance of trade for the mother country. Students create bar graphs showing trends in exports, imports, and balance of trade between 1700 and 1774.

In the second part of the chapter, students look at the effects of the mercantile trade laws on the colonies. The differential effects on the various regions of the colonies are examined in terms of the varying economies of the regions. Students complete a map exercise showing colonial economic activities.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Define *favorable balance of trade* and explain how the mercantile laws were designed to improve Britain's balance of trade with the colonies.

2. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of having a favorable balance of trade.

3. Identify and graph economic trends.

4. Classify the colonies by region and list the major economic activities of each region.

5. Take and defend a position on whether the colonies as a whole were or were not seriously hampered by British mercantile policies.

Time Required: 2-3 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 4 and Handouts 4-1 and 4-2 for all students

Procedure:

1. Review the assignment from the previous day. Students were to read the first half of Chapter 4, answer the definition/explanation questions, and be prepared to discuss the balance of trade. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- mercantilism – the philosophy that a nation's wealth depends on its stores of gold and silver.
- two mercantilist countries – possible answers include England, Spain, France, Portugal, and the Netherlands.
- exports – what a country sells abroad
- imports – what a country brings in from or buys abroad.
- favorable balance of trade – results from selling or exporting more goods than a country buys or imports.
- gold and silver – accrues to nations with a favorable balance of trade.
- restricted imports – under the Staples Act of 1663 (with subsequent amendments), the colonists were forbidden to buy anything from abroad unless it first came to England; from this point it would be unloaded and reloaded on another ship, and certain duties would be paid; only then could it come to the colonies.

- restricted exports – under the Navigation Act of 1651 (with subsequent amendments), the following goods could be sold only in the colonies or to England: sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, ginger, indigo, rice, molasses, naval stores, and iron.
- restrictions on shipping – restrictions on shipping required that all ships trading between England and the rest of her Empire be of British construction or owned by British citizens; since the colonists qualified as British, this law did not hurt them.
- two laws restricting manufacturing – prohibited the making of woolen goods and hats in the colonies and the exportation to other colonies of products made from iron.

2. Be sure students understand that Great Britain wanted to gain stores of gold and silver from her colonies but found the only way to these riches would be to profit from trade with the colonies. They hoped to gain money by having a favorable balance of trade. Go over the chart on page 75, explaining that a favorable balance comes from exporting or selling more than you import or buy. You may want to use an everyday example: If a student buys $10 of groceries from a store and sells the store $5 of blueberries he or she grew, the student has an unfavorable balance of trade and owes the store $5.

3. Review with students the statistics on colonial trade with England. Distribute Handout 4-1 and go over the instructions with students. Allow students to help one another and be available to answer questions as they complete their graphs.

4. Distribute Handout 4-2 and assign students to read the remainder of Chapter 4 and complete the handout as homework. They may need to use maps from history texts or historical atlases to help them.

5. At the beginning of the next class period, review the map exercise and help students with any last-minute location questions. Then collect the maps and the graphs from the previous day and hold up the maps done fairly neatly with different colors as a sign that this extra effort is appreciated. Although students' symbol choices will vary, they should mark the following colonies in each category:

- Colonies that made soap, candles, and wool – New England colonies
- Colonies involved in the triangular trade – New England colonies, especially Rhode Island
- Colonies that imported the largest proportion of their goods from England – southern colonies
- Colonies that bought goods illegally – New England colonies
- Colonies that exported grain to Europe – middle colonies
- Colonies hurt by the Iron Act – middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania
- Colonies exporting tobacco, cotton, and rice – southern colonies

6. Discuss the first two "Chapter Questions." Some possible answers are given below:

1. Possible definitions/explanations are:
   - the three regions – New England, middle colonies, and southern colonies.
   - New England colonies – Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire; Maine at that time was part of Massachusetts, and Vermont was part of New York.
   - rocky soil – caused New Englanders to seek other means than farming to make a living; thus, they branched out into fishing, shipbuilding, shipping, and manufacturing shoes, candles, coaches, and leather goods.
   - triangular trade – molasses was made into rum in Rhode Island, rum was sold/traded for slaves in Africa, and slaves were traded for molasses and gold in the West Indies; the slaves were often brought to the South while the gold helped New Englanders address their balance of trade problems.

- middle colonies – New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.
- grain and lumber – the principal exports from the middle colonies.
- Iron Act of 1750 – prohibited the export of goods made from iron to other colonies, thereby damaging Pennsylvania's iron industry.
- the southern colonies – Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.
- restricted list – goods that could not be sold to countries other than England; included cotton, tobacco, indigo, and rice, all grown in the southern colonies.
- George Washington – planted wheat instead of tobacco to avoid British trade laws.
- agents – British merchants who handled the accounts of southern planters; the planters often owed their agents a great deal of money.

2. The restrictions on buying allowed British merchants and manufacturers to sell their wares in the colonies without facing competition from other nations; the restriction on selling to other countries allowed the British to buy colonial goods and resell them at a profit. The restrictions on shipping provided income and profits for both British and American merchants and shipbuilders, and the restriction on manufacturing kept markets open for British manufacturers. However, students should be cautioned that many of these laws were not well enforced.

7. If time permits following up on the third "Chapter Question," divide the class into two groups, assigning one group to prepare the arguments the colonists might have used to explain how the mercantile laws hurt them. The other side should present the counter arguments from the British point of view. Conduct the debate and then allow students to vote on which side they believe had the most persuasive arguments. The main arguments for each side are summarized below for your use in helping students prepare for the debate.

From the colonists' point of view, the British laws were intrusive, forbidding them from buying and selling goods simply so English merchants could make a lot of money. The colonists thought they should be allowed to buy and sell from and to whomever they pleased. In the South, most of the planters were in debt because they had to sell tobacco at low prices. The British sold the same tobacco to the French at high prices. The colonists felt forced to do things illegally because of the British laws. Gold and silver were always in short supply because whatever the colonists had went to redress the colonies' unfavorable balance of trade with the mother country.

From Great Britain's point of view, the colonists had little to complain about. Even without the mercantile laws, much of the colonists' trade would have been with England because British goods cost less than goods made by such rivals as France, Spain, and Holland. When the planters in the South did not have enough money to buy goods from England, their agents lent them money. Furthermore, much of the trade was done in ships built and owned by the colonists. When the trade laws hurt them, the colonists smuggled. The cost of the trade laws was a small price to pay for the protection offered by the British Empire. The colonists had no navy of their own to back up their ships; to build one would have cost a great deal of money.

Preparation for Chapter 5:

Since the lesson on mercantilism ends the "what was" section of the unit (i.e., the material on social, political, and economic background to the Revolution), the teacher may decide to test students on the first four chapters. Otherwise, assign students to read the first two pages of Chapter 5 and complete the first ten definition/explanation questions.

GRAPHING THE BALANCE OF TRADE

Study the numbers in the table on page 77 of the reading. Look for a trend – a pattern that developed over time – in imports, exports, or balance of trade. Make a bar or line graph that shows that trend. Your graph should include data from at least three years between 1700 and 1774.

Be sure to follow these steps in making your graph:

- Label the horizontal axis with the years you have chosen to show.
- Decide on a scale of measurement for the vertical axis (for example, 1/2 inch = £ 150,000). Label the vertical axis to show the scale you selected.
- For each year, locate the correct point on the vertical axis. Then draw the lines or bars.

Example:

Describe the trend your graph shows. _____

_____

Did this trend continue in 1776? Why or why not? _____

_____

AN ECONOMIC MAP OF THE COLONIES

1. On the map below, locate and label the following:
   - The 13 colonies
   - A major town in each region of the colonies
   - The Great Lakes
   - The Atlantic Ocean
   - The major rivers in the colonies
   - The major mountain range
2. Create a symbol for each of the following categories of colonies. Then draw your symbols on the colonies where they belong.
   - Colonies that made soap, candles, and wool
   - Colonies involved in the triangular trade
   - Colonies that imported the largest proportion of their goods from England
   - Colonies that bought goods illegally
   - Colonies that exported grain to Europe
   - Colonies hurt by the Iron Act
   - Colonies exporting tobacco, cotton, and rice

CHAPTER 5: THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

Overview:

This chapter opens with a brief review of the expansion of Spanish, French, and English holdings in North America. The conflicting uses to which the English and French wanted to put land in the Ohio River Valley are described to set the stage for understanding the effects of George Washington's mission to warn the French that they were encroaching on land belonging to the king of England. Students read about this incident and examine a copy of Washington's orders as well as an excerpt of the future president's diary explaining his reasons for attacking French forces in the area.

The chapter includes two major activities: a map worksheet and a debate over whether the French and Indian War was basically started by the colonists for their own gain or whether it was just another of the many wars for empire fought by these European rivals. This issue becomes very important in Chapter 6, which asks students to consider if the colonists should have been required to help shoulder the burden for the costs of the war, how the conquered areas should be settled and defended, and whether mercantile laws should be repealed or enforced.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Describe the extent of the Spanish Empire in the New World and explain the roles played by at least four different Spanish leaders in its acquisition.

2. Locate settlements and natural features in the Caribbean and North America.

3. Explain who the *coureurs de bois* were and why their activities were likely to draw England and France into a major war for empire.

4. Describe major events leading up to the French and Indian War, as well as two important battles.

5. Take and defend a position on whether the colonists or France and England were responsible for starting the war.

Time Required: 2 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 5 and Handout 5-1 for all students, atlases for reference, wall map of North America

Procedure:

1. To review the portion of the chapter assigned the previous night, discuss the first ten items in the definition/explanation question at the end of the chapter. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- Balboa – first European to cross the Isthmus of Panama and see the Pacific Ocean.
- Magellan – leader of expedition that eventually circled the world; Magellan himself was killed in the Philippines.
- Aztecs and Incas – Indian civilizations destroyed by the Spanish conquistadors, Cortez and Pizarro.
- Mexico City and Lima – Spanish cities founded before Jamestown was settled.
- three characteristics of the Spanish Empire – destruction of Indian civilizations, enslavement of thousands of Indians and Africans, development of cities and universities.
- the Armada – the Spanish fleet, which was sunk on its way to attack England in 1588.
- New France – the name given to French settlements and claims in the New World.

- Samuel de Champlain – French explorer who founded the city of Quebec.
- *coureurs de bois* – French trappers and fur traders (literally, runners of the woods)
- lands around the Ohio River – a potential area of conflict because the French wanted this land to expand fur trapping, while the British colonists wanted to settle and farm there.

As you discuss these items, you may wish to trace the routes of the Spanish and French explorers on a wall map of North America.

2. Distribute Handout 5-1 and allow time for students to complete this map exercise. Be sure atlases are available for reference, as students will not be able to locate the places listed with chapter information only. Students' completed maps should resemble the map below.

3. Ask students for their predictions about what might happen as a result of both the French and British colonists wanting the land in the Ohio Valley (western Pennsylvania).

4. Direct students to turn to page 82 of Chapter 5 and examine the table showing the dates of the four wars between France and England. What do they notice about where the first three wars started? (They all started in Europe and spread to the colonies.) How was the last war different? (It started in the colonies and spread to Europe.)

5. Explain to students that the issue they will examine the next day is how the last of the four wars started. Explain that historians have argued about whether the war was started by the British or by the colonists, specifically George Washington.

6. Select four students or ask for four volunteers to participate in a debate. Two students will argue that the British started the war and two will argue that the colonists were responsible. Each team should try to develop at least three major points that can be substantiated by evidence from the chapter or another source. They should also try to anticipate the points the other side will make and prepare to rebut them. You may want to share some of the points listed under step 8 with the debaters. The remaining students should finish reading the chapter and complete the rest of the definition/explanation questions as homework.

7. At the beginning of the next class period, briefly discuss the last 10 items in the definition/explanation question. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- relations between France and Great Britain – these two nations had been enemies for more than 60 years; they had already fought three wars in Europe and America.
- Ohio Company – business enterprise of nine influential British and colonial leaders, who received a grant of 200,000 acres from King George II of England.
- Robert Dinwiddie – lt. governor of Virginia and member of the Ohio Company who appointed George Washington (also a member of the Ohio Company) to command Virginian troops.
- Washington's instructions – Washington was directed to prevent the French from building forts, to build British forts, and to resist "attempts" on such forts.
- ambush – Washington claimed the French were planning to ambush him; this was his explanation for attacking them.
- Ft. Necessity – built by Washington's men, this fort was taken by the French; Washington surrendered and was allowed to return to Virginia.
- General Braddock – Braddock and 1,500 men were sent by the British to fight the French; because Braddock did not listen to the Americans, he was badly defeated by the French and their Indian allies.
- Ft. Duquesne – the object of Braddock's attack; however, he and his men were attacked about ten miles from the fort (site of present-day Pittsburgh).
- William Pitt – the British prime minister who revitalized the war effort by spending money and promoting able young soldiers.
- General Wolfe – Wolfe tried three times to take Quebec; his final attempt was aimed at scaling the cliffs of the St. Lawrence River. Students are not told in this chapter whether he succeeded or not.

8. Conduct the debate. Allow each side four or five minutes to make their initial presentation, called the constructive arguments. Then allow three to four minutes for each side to present rebuttals. The purpose of the rebuttal arguments is to weaken the position presented by the opposing team and to answer any attacks made by the opposition. Note that each side of the debate can be broken into three different arguments. These three arguments relate to the underlying causes of the war, the role of George Washington, and the effort the British and colonists put into the war compared to what each group had to gain from it. The following are points related to these arguments that each side may make during the debate:

Arguments on the British Side

It is true that other wars between France and England had started in Europe, but the French and Indian War started in the colonies in 1754. This was two years before it broke out in Europe, where it was known as the Seven Years War.

The war was started by a colonist, George Washington, who himself was a member of the Ohio Company, whose claim he was protecting. Washington exceeded his instructions in attacking the French; his excuse that they were lying in ambush was so lame that the French even allowed it to be published.

The British, at considerable expense, brought General Braddock and 1,500 soldiers to Virginia to help the colonists maintain their claim to the west. After Braddock's defeat, the Indians ran wild on the frontier, either killing American pioneers or driving them off their land. Even the British forts were captured and occupied by the French. Without British help, the colonists would have lost all of their settlements.

Arguments on the Colonial Side

The French and Indian War was an outgrowth of centuries-old European rivalries, the struggle for colonial empire, and differences in religion and culture. Every time these mercantile countries fought a war, they dragged their colonists into it.

When Washington accepted a command to protect the Ohio Company territory, he in effect was acting as an agent of Great Britain. He was carrying out orders stemming from the British king to prevent the French from building forts in western Pennsylvania. On discovering he was about to be ambushed, he attacked the French enemy from the rear – a smart military move since he was outnumbered and had to rely on surprise.

The British had much more to gain from taking the Ohio Valley area than the colonists. In addition to what he granted the Ohio Company, the king would control all the land east of the Mississippi River and all of Canada in the event of a military victory. This would give mercantile England great wealth through its trading manipulations and make England the most powerful country on the face of the earth.

9. Debrief the debate and the performance of the debate teams by informally polling the class to determine how many agree with the team arguing on Great Britain's behalf and how many agree with the team arguing the colonists' viewpoint. Class members should be asked to explain whether their own positions were strengthened or changed as a result of hearing the debate and to explain why. Class members should also be asked to make statements they feel could have been used as effective arguments by the debaters.

Preparation for Chapter 6:

Tell students that the war ended in 1763, leaving Great Britain with three major problems to solve: what to do with the conquered lands, what to do about lack of enforcement of trade regulations, and how to pay for the war and for the future defense of the conquered territories. In preparation for the next day, students should read Chapter 6, answer the definition/explanation questions, and think of arguments to support specific policies for solving these problems.

MAPPING THE NEW WORLD

On the map below, locate the following places or geographic features mentioned in Chapter 5. You may use an atlas or textbook to help you.

Isthmus of Panama	Pacific Ocean
Mexico City	St. Augustine
Jamestown	Cuba
Dominican Republic	New Orleans
Mississippi River	Canada
Quebec	Montreal
St. Lawrence River	Ohio River
Allegheny River	Ft. Duquesne (now Pittsburgh)
Ft. Necessity (near present day Uniontown, PA)	Lake Ontario
Lake Champlain	Lake George

CHAPTER 6: THE PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE

Overview:

This chapter examines the problems faced by the British after their victory in the French and Indian/Seven Years War. The victory left England with all of France's and Spain's territory east of the Mississippi, all of Canada, and most of India. Victory also created problems, however. The British had to decide who would occupy the new lands west of the Appalachians – the Indian tribes who had coexisted with the French and the fur traders, or the settlers. This problem was exacerbated by Pontiac's uprising, which was quelled by British troops after hundreds of frontier families were killed or forced to abandon their homes and farms.

The British also had to come to grips with the issue of brazen smuggling. Goods worth an estimated £700,000 were smuggled into the colonies annually. Finally, England's national debt had doubled as a result of the war, leaving the already-overtaxed British taxpayers thinking that the colonists could well bear at least some of the burden in paying for a war fought in their defense.

Working in small groups, students discuss these problems and choose from among some of the alternatives considered by British policymakers. They then compare the solutions they selected with the actual actions taken by the British government.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Explain the three "problems of empire" faced by the British government after the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

2. Make a cogent and objective presentation on the best solutions to each of the problems.

3. State and evaluate how the British actually addressed the three problems.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 6 for all students

Procedure:

1. Briefly discuss the definition/explanation questions assigned the previous day. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- James Wolfe – took Quebec on September 13, 1759, an important victory in the British war effort.
- Treaty of Paris – ended the Seven Years/French and Indian War in 1763. France surrendered Canada and the Ohio Valley, as well as most of India; Spain ceded Florida.
- Chief Pontiac – Indian leader who gathered tribes in the Ohio River Valley and attacked British forts, killing hundreds of settlers and driving others out of their homes.
- permanent forts – building such outposts along the Ohio River and Great Lakes was recommended by British commanders as necessary to defend settlers from Indians, French, and Spanish.
- problems related to western lands – these problems included conflicting claims to the right to sell lands, setting lands aside for hunting and trapping, allowing lands for the Indians, and closing lands to settlement by colonists.
- trade laws – these laws were often broken by colonists, who even smuggled goods into enemy ports blockaded by the British navy.

- colonial attitudes toward smuggling – colonists did not view smuggling as a crime. The value of smuggled goods was estimated at £700,000 per year, and such prominent colonists as John Hancock made their fortunes smuggling goods by the British customs officials.
- war debts – debts caused by the French and Indian War doubled Britain's national debt from £70,000,000 to £140,000,000, making the government hungry for new sources of revenue.
- taxes in England compared to taxes in colonies – per capita taxes in England were estimated as being up to 20 times those in the colonies.
- cider riots – disturbances in England caused by the British taxing cider in the wake of the big increase in the British debt.
- standard of living in the colonies – the standard of living generally was higher than in England. In other words, the colonists could afford to pay more taxes.

2. Divide the class into groups of five students each, asking each group to follow the directions presented in question 2 of the "Chapter Questions." Tell students that the reasons for each decision will be collected, so groups should be careful to note this information. Also point out (if applicable) that groups will receive a collective grade and should thus work cooperatively. Set a time limit of 15 to 20 minutes for completion of the task.

3. Discuss the solutions to as many of the problems as time permits. Try to get students to voice strong pro-colonial or pro-British positions in defending their answers.

4. Turn to question 3 at the end of the chapter and read the description of how the British addressed each of the problems aloud with the class. Encourage students to take notes. To conclude the lesson, ask whether students think the British, on the whole, arrived at reasonable solutions to the "problems of empire" or whether they seemed to be aiming to take away all the colonists' rights. Poll the class to determine who is leaning toward the British, who is leaning toward the colonists, and who is undecided.

Preparation for Chapter 7:

Divide the class into thirds; one will represent the British viewpoint, one the Patriots' viewpoint, and one the undecided colonists. Assign the undecided group to read only the introduction to Chapter 7, the pro-British group to read the introduction and the arguments for the Stamp Act, and the Patriots to read the introduction and the arguments against the Stamp Act. Each group should complete the appropriate definition/explanation questions before the next class period; those in the two "camps" should be prepared to debate the Stamp Act issue.

CHAPTER 7: THE STAMP ACT AND VIRTUAL REPRESENTATION

Overview:

This chapter explains why the British thought the colonists should pay the stamp tax and why the colonists opposed it. The arguments for both sides are presented briefly in an introductory section and again in excerpts. The source for the British position is a speech given by Soame Jenyns, member of Parliament; the colonial position was published in a pamphlet written by Daniel Dulany, a lawyer from Maryland. Jenyns's argument was a direct response to the colonists' contention that "no Englishman is or can be taxed without his consent or agreement." Jenyns points out this simply was not true; in fact, most Englishmen could not vote and yet they paid taxes. The form of representation used in England, Jenyns pointed out, was called virtual representation: all members of Parliament represented the entire Empire, not just their own constituents.

The colonists responded that while virtual representation might work in England where there was a great similarity of interest among voters and non-voters, it could not work for the colonists, whose interests were often diametrically opposed to those of British citizens living 3,000 miles away. Dulany also pointed out that if the principle were accepted that the colonists must pay taxes, the British could shift the whole burden of taxation onto them. Furthermore, the colonists argued that even if Englishmen are taxed without being represented, they should not be. The colonists were not asking for rights that belonged just to Englishmen, but for God-given, unalienable rights that should belong to all men.

While the debate in this lesson concentrates on the issue of representation, students also consider whether the colonists benefited from living within the British Empire. To facilitate consideration of this issue, some material has been added to each set of arguments.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Explain the purpose and major provisions of the Stamp Act.
2. Give two or three strong arguments for the colonists' paying taxes to England.
3. Explain the virtual representation argument and show its major fallacy.
4. State why self-taxation is or should be an unalienable right for all people.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 7 for all students

Procedure:

1. Quickly review the definition/explanation questions assigned to each group. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- Stamp Act – law passed by Parliament requiring colonists to buy stamps to affix on such items as newspapers, cards, and diplomas.
- newspapers and dice – among the items taxed by the Stamp Act.
- regulate trade – previous taxes on the colonists had been for the purposes of regulating trade. The purpose of the Stamp Act was to raise money; it would thus set a precedent.
- no taxation without representation – this was the rallying cry. It meant that a legislative body, to have the moral and legal right to tax the colonists, must be elected by them.
- virtual representation – the British argued that all members of Parliament represented everyone in England; thus, the British who could not vote were represented by those who

could vote. Non-voters were therefore "virtually represented" in Parliament and had to pay taxes.

- Soame Jenyns – the member of Parliament who presented the virtual representation argument.
- no one can be taxed without his consent – argument Jenyns used to make the "no taxation without representation" argument sound ridiculous.
- Birmingham – this city sent no representatives to Parliament, but its inhabitants paid taxes. Birmingham was used as an example of virtual representation in England.
- 300 and 3,000 miles – Jenyns argued if virtual representation could cover 300 miles in England (from Birmingham to London), it could cover 3,000 miles (between London and Boston).
- protection by British – this phrase refers to the argument that the colonists were benefiting from living in the British Empire (for example, they were protected from the French and Indians by the British army) and thus should pay taxes.
- spider web – Dulany said that the virtual representation argument was like a spider web, in that it will catch the weak (thinkers) but not the strong.
- can vote – the Englishman who can vote, Dulany argued, is not that different from the one who cannot vote; i.e., their interests often are the same.
- shift the burden – this phrase refers to the argument that England could make the colonies pay all of their taxes.
- mercantilistic laws – Dulany claimed that colonists were paying England through the mercantile laws.
- God-given rights – this phrase refers to the argument that if the English didn't have the right not to pay taxes unless they were represented, they should have it because it is a God-given right.

2. Prepare for the debate on the Stamp Act. This may be conducted in one of two ways:

- Arrange the class in a U shape so all students can see each other. Select two students to represent the colonial position and two to represent the British position. Conduct the debate much like the one described in Chapter 5, with productive arguments followed by rebuttals. While the debaters are presenting, take notes on the chalkboard so students can follow the line of argument. Then open up the discussion, allowing all students to ask questions and make counter-arguments. During this portion of the discussion, you may serve as a moderator, summing up what one student has said and asking the next student to respond.
- Divide the class into groups of six, with two students representing the colonists, two students representing the British, and two neutral students in each group. Then give instructions for conducting a debate within each group. In this option, you may wish to use a less formal debating style. Ask one of the neutral students in each group to take notes while the debate is being conducted; the other neutral student should prepare questions to ask both sides.

The following are arguments that may be used in the debates:

British Arguments

- The English had paid a stamp tax (similar to the one levied in the Stamp Act) for 100 years.
- The English were paying 20 times more taxes than the colonists.
- No one wants to pay taxes.
- Most Englishmen could not vote (or lived in towns and cities that sent no delegates to Parliament) but were virtually represented.

- The colonists benefited from living in the British Empire.

Colonists' Arguments

- Their interests were completely different from the interests of people living in England.
- People in England who could not vote could eventually vote (i.e., by acquiring property or moving to a town that sent members to Parliament).
- England could eventually shift the whole burden of taxes to the colonists.
- Colonists were paying many indirect taxes through the trade laws.
- The colonists were asking for God-given rights that all people, including Englishmen, should have.

3. Assign students to write the essay described in question 4 of the "Chapter Questions." You may want to review the parts of an essay with them before allowing in-class or homework time for completion of the essay.

Preparation for Chapter 8:

Have all students read Chapter 8, review the definition/explanation questions, and be prepared to discuss which of the colonists' actions were justified.

CHAPTER 8: METHODS OF PROTEST

Overview:

This chapter describes four protests against the Stamp Act. It begins with Patrick Henry's famous speech before the House of Burgesses, in which he called King George III insane and proposed the famous Virginia Resolves. The Stamp Act also touched off violent demonstrations, and an account of a Boston mob's destroying the office and home of alleged stamp-agent-to-be, Andrew Oliver, is included. Another act of protest recorded in this chapter is the Stamp Act Congress. The chapter ends with a description of a boycott by 200 merchants, who resolved to cease trade with Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed.

Students are introduced to a three-criterion test for determining whether a specific act of protest is justified. The test is presented through a sample essay; students then use the test in constructing their own brief essays evaluating the protests described in the chapter.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this chapter, students should be able to:

1. List four different actions colonists took to protest the Stamp Act.

2. Cite the arguments advanced against the stamp tax by the Virginia Resolves and the Stamp Act Congress.

3. Explain three criteria for deciding whether an act of protest is justified and apply it in evaluating the methods used to protest the Stamp Act.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 8 and Handout 8-1 or 8-2 for all students

Procedure:

1. Briefly discuss the definition/explanation questions for Chapter 8. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- Patrick Henry – the youngest member of the House of Burgesses, Henry raised important issues regarding the Stamp Act.
- George Wyeth – an older member of the House, Wyeth said it was their duty to obey Parliament.
- Virginia Resolves – offered by Patrick Henry, these seven resolutions (five of which were actually adopted the day of the speech; the burgesses reversed themselves on one of the adopted resolutions the following day) included statements such as the following: settlers from England had the same rights and privileges in the New World as they enjoyed in the Old, the right of self-taxation was a most important right, only the Virginia Assembly had the right to tax Virginians, the people of Virginia did not have to obey any law passed by Parliament, and anyone who disagreed with these statements was an enemy of the colony.
- Brutus and Cromwell – Henry allegedly referred to these assassins in his speech, implying that King George deserved the same fate as Caeser and Charles I. (A great deal of controversy is attached to this speech; there was no contemporary record of the cries of "Treason" in response to the speech, and most historians now dismiss this incident as apocryphal.)
- Sons of Liberty – organized by Sam Adams and John Hancock, this group stirred up crowds to protest English laws.

- Andrew Oliver – upon the rumor that Oliver had accepted a commission to sell stamps, angry crowds destroyed the building where he supposedly would sell them and pillaged his home.
- Stamp Act Congress – a meeting in New York of delegates from nine colonies to protest the Stamp Act.
- Resolves of the Stamp Act Congress – every Englishman has the right not to pay taxes without his consent, the colonies could not be represented in Parliament, and it was the duty of the colonies to seek repeal of the Stamp Act.
- boycott – 200 merchants agreed to stop doing business with Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed.
- Declaratory Act – this act stated that the king and Parliament had the right to make laws to bind the colonists in all cases; the act was passed in conjunction with repeal of the Stamp Act.

2. Distribute the handout you have selected and read the statement with the class. After some discussion, have students identify the thesis and foreshadowing. Ask students to identify the criteria the writer used to judge whether the protest was justified. If students have difficulty, you may want to post the criteria on the chalkboard and then have students identify how each criterion was applied. The criteria are:

- Whether the protesters' cause was good or just. The assumption underlying this criterion is that a protest is more likely to be justified if it is in aid of a good cause.
- Whether the same goal could have been accomplished in a less violent or less inflammatory way. Here the assumption is that a protest is less justifiable if a "safer" method could have accomplished the same ends.
- Whether the desired result was obtained. This criterion is based on the assumption that an unsuccessful protest is less justifiable than one that gained the result the protesters sought.

Note to students that the three criteria relate to the principle (P), the alternatives available (A), and the results (R); use of these criteria could therefore be called a "P-A-R" analysis.

3. Have students write their own short essays, following the instructions provided in question 3 of the "Chapter Questions." This may be done in class or as homework. When the assignments are complete, let students share them with partners or small groups, getting feedback on how well they supported their positions using the three criteria. Then have the students turn the essays in to you; grade and return them as quickly as possible.

Preparation for Chapter 9:

Chapter 9 contains all the information and instructions needed for a mock trial on the Boston Massacre. Four students will play lawyers, eight will represent witnesses, and the remainder will be jurors. You may wish to assign these roles before students read Chapter 9, so that witnesses and lawyers may begin preparing their roles. If you do so, ask the witnesses to bring a written description of what they saw, the lawyers to begin drafting their opening arguments, and the jurors to complete the usual definition/explanation questions in preparation for the lesson. Instructions for the mock trial are provided in Handout 9-1.

INFLAMMATORY ORATORY

Thesis and Foreshadowing

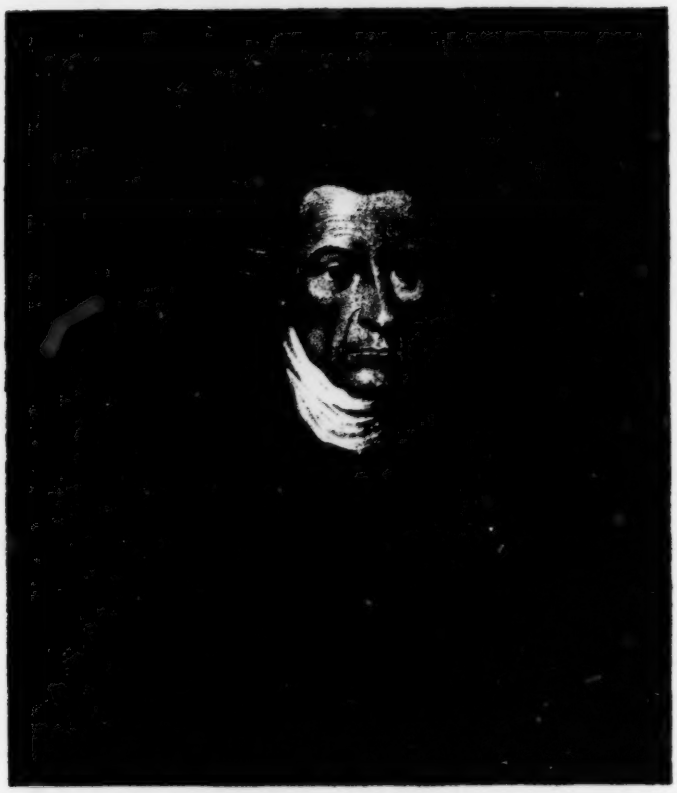
Patrick Henry's provocative speech cannot be justified because the colonists benefited from living in the British empire, less violent and divisive language could have been used, and such bitter language incites others to violence.

Main Body

As we know, Great Britain helped the colonists by defeating the French and putting down Pontiac's rebellion. Certainly, Patrick Henry could have made his points about government without calling the king insane and threatening his life. Such wild talk and the resolutions that accompanied it were responsible for the mob violence in Boston, Massachusetts.

Conclusion

Colonists like Henry should have realized that they benefited from being part of Great Britain and that needlessly divisive speeches would only lead to further misunderstanding and violence.



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FORCE WAS NECESSARY

Thesis and Foreshadowing

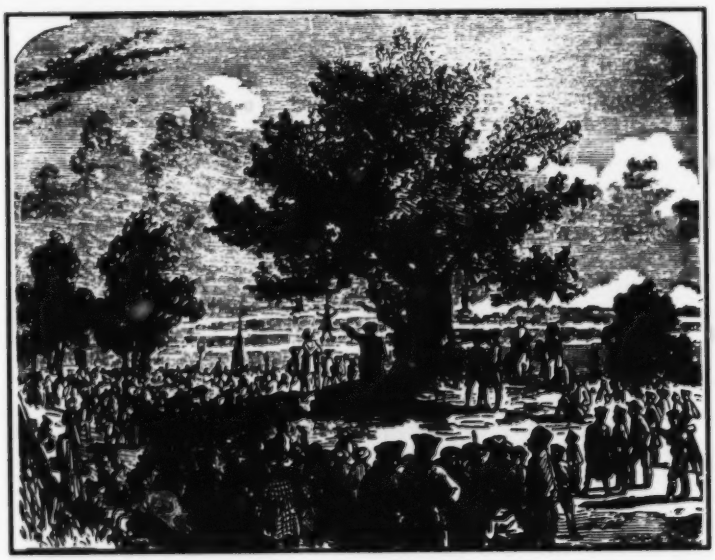
The acts of the Boston mobs were necessary because the Stamp Act deprived the colonists of their rights as Englishmen, peaceful protests would not work, and the protests succeeded in obtaining repeal of the Stamp Act.

Main Body

The Stamp Act placed a tax on colonists even though they were not represented in Parliament; the Stamp Act therefore violated colonists' right to self-taxation. Unfortunately, peaceful protest would not receive the attention of a Parliament seeking to shift the burden of taxes from England to the colonies. The violent protest showed the British how serious the colonists were. It succeeded in gaining the repeal of the Stamp Act.

Conclusion

The riots in Boston were justified because violent protest was the only way to gain the repeal of the illegal and immoral stamp tax.



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CHAPTER 9: THE BOSTON MASSACRE

Overview:

This chapter begins by describing the antagonism between British soldiers and the people of Boston. The British were viewed as hostile interlopers and treated accordingly. The soldiers did not distinguish themselves for gallantry and invited many of the insults that made their lives so difficult. The reading then examines two incidents in which the British and the colonists worked each other into such a state that an event like the Boston Massacre became all but inevitable. This reading concludes with a description of the massacre and Governor Hutchinson's promise that the accused would be made to stand trial.

The reading provides students with enough information to reenact the trial of the British soldiers. In so doing, one of the main issues will be which side provoked the other in the various incidents described in the chapter. Students are to decide whether or not the massacre was intentional and unjustified because the British soldiers did much to stir up the discontent and anger directed at them. The prosecution will argue that the soldiers were in no immediate danger *at the time* they fired into the crowd. The defense will try to prove the opposite – namely, that the colonists had provoked the soldiers and were about to cause them bodily harm. Any reasonable person, the defense will argue, would have done the same under similar circumstances.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Tell the facts surrounding two incidents before the Boston Massacre and the story of the massacre itself.

2. Explain the meaning of the charges against the soldiers.

3. Make a cogent case for or against the soldiers based on the evidence.

Time Required: 2-3 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 9 and Handout 9-1 for all students

Procedure:

1. Review the assignment from the previous day, briefly discussing the definition/explanation questions. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- lobsterback – derogatory name given British soldiers by colonists.
- Private Walker – soldier who came to Ropewalk looking for a job and was told he could empty the public toilet; in response, he first argued with and then swung at William Green.
- Nicholas Ferriter – Ropewalk employee who joined the battle and knocked Walker down; Ferriter later testified in the trial.
- Hugh White and Edward Garrick – soldier and apprentice who quarreled before the Customs House; White ended up striking Garrick.
- Captain Preston – officer who brought reinforcements to help White stand guard by Customs House, where the crowd of colonists numbered 300.
- Hugh Montgomery – soldier who fired the first shot in King Street; no one was hit by the shot.
- six seconds to two minutes – pause between Montgomery's harmless shot into the air and Kilroy's fatal shot.
- Richard Palmes – colonist who clubbed a soldier and then aimed blow at Preston's head, slipping and hitting him on the shoulder instead; Palmes formerly acted as peacemaker.

- Sam Gray and Mathew Kilroy – Kilroy, a soldier, shot colonist Gray in King Street; both had been involved in the earlier brawl at the Ropewalk.
- Ed Langford – colonist who was standing next to Gray when he was killed.
- Governor Hutchinson – told the crowd to go home peacefully and promised the British soldiers would have to stand trial.

2. Go over the instructions for the mock trial (Handout 9-1) with students. You may wish to explain that at a previous trial, Captain Preston had been found innocent of ordering the soldiers to fire on the colonists. Corporal Weems and Privates Montgomery, Kilroy, Hartigan, Warren, McCauley, and White were then tried together. Since Massachusetts was a crown colony, the prosecution was done in the name of the king; hence, the case was called Rex (Latin for king) vs. Weems. Explain that the mock trial will focus primarily on Mathew Kilroy. The charge is voluntary manslaughter – taking of a life through a deliberate action.

3. Allow all students working to defend the British soldiers (witnesses and lawyers) to meet in one part of the room to discuss their strategy for the trial; all students on the prosecution side should meet in another part of the room. Jurors should work by themselves to draw up a list of two questions they would ask each witness, if given the chance.

4. Spend time helping the prosecution and defense teams prepare their cases. In talking with defense lawyers, stress that they must prove that the soldiers had not antagonized the colonists at the Ropewalk and by the Customs House and that at the time they fired, they had good reason to believe their lives were in danger. Tell witnesses their testimony must prove that point. In talking with the prosecution lawyers, stress that they must show the British soldiers had been acting in a provoking manner at the Ropewalk and before the Customs House and that at the time they fired into the crowd, they were in no immediate danger. Tell witnesses their testimony must make the same points.

5. Tell the lawyers to come to class the next day with an opening statement, questions to ask their own witnesses, and ideas for cross-examining hostile witnesses.

6. At the beginning of the next class period, allow the prosecution and defense teams three or four minutes to confer. While they are doing so, ask the jurors to help you arrange prosecution and defense tables at the front of the room.

7. Write the name of the case on the chalkboard and begin the trial by briefly stating the issue – did the colonists provoke the British soldiers and did Mathew Kilroy have sufficient reason to believe his life was in danger when he killed Sam Gray?

8. Give each team of lawyers three minutes for their opening statement, with the prosecution team going first.

9. Have the prosecution present its witnesses, allowing about three minutes for each witness and two minutes for cross-examination. When the prosecution has rested its case, the defense should present its witnesses, using the same time constraints. If you prefer to allow more time for testimony and cross-examination, this will require another day of class time.

10. At the end of the class period, tell the lawyers to write their closing arguments as homework for the following class period. The closing statements should summarize the case and attempt to convince the jury to decide in their favor. Jurors should begin drafting paragraphs explaining their opinions regarding what the verdict should be based on what they have heard so far; be sure jurors understand that they can change their opinions the next day on the basis of the closing statement but should at least evaluate the evidence heard during this period in preparation for making a decision.

11. If necessary at the beginning of the next class period, allow questioning of witnesses who did not testify the previous day, followed by closing statements from the lawyers.

12. Ask one juror to explain how he/she would vote--for conviction or acquittal. Use this statement as a stimulus for debate among the jurors regarding the verdict. During the discussion, try to ensure that every member of the jury has an opportunity to express and defend an opinion. At the end of the discussion, poll the jury to arrive at a verdict. Tell jurors that they can change their minds--they do not have to vote as they argued. Announce the verdict and allow lawyers and witnesses to participate in a discussion of the verdict.

13. Tell the students that in the actual trial, the testimony of a doctor who treated Patrick Carr, one of the five colonists killed by the British soldiers, had a profound effect on the jury. The doctor, who favored Britain, testified that Carr forgave the British soldiers on his death bed and admitted they had been provoked. Although hearsay, this evidence was allowed in court because of the assumption that no one would wish to "meet his/her maker" with a lie. This testimony, combined with John Adams's brilliant defense, swayed the jury into finding two soldiers guilty of involuntary manslaughter and the others not guilty. According to the custom of the time, this verdict permitted the two convicted to escape with a branding on the thumb because they could read and write. Thus, the British soldiers were released after a trial that shocked Boston. A well-researched reenactment of the trial involving legal scholars and historians resulted in the same verdict.

Preparation for Chapter 10:

Point out to students that the issue at the trial was the right of people in authority to defend themselves, their responsibility to protect people and property, and the right of protesters to speak and assemble. An incident 200 years later had startling similarities to the Boston Massacre and involved the same issues. Assign students to read Chapter 10 and come to class prepared to discuss whether the National Guard had the right to fire into the crowd at Kent State University. If you wish, you may have students apply the three-criterion test for judging methods of protest (was the cause just? were less violent or inflammatory alternatives available? was the desired result obtained?) to see if it applies equally to uses of authority.

THE TRIAL OF PRIVATE KILROY (REX VS. WEEMS)

You are about to take part in a mock trial of the British soldiers present at the Boston Massacre. The trial will focus on whether Mathew Kilroy had sufficient reason to believe his life was in danger when he killed Sam Gray. The charge is voluntary manslaughter – the taking of a life through a deliberate action.

Roles

For the Prosecution: Lawyers Samuel Quincy and Robert Treat Paine; witnesses Nicholas Ferriter, Edward Garrick, Edward Langford, and Richard Palmes.

For the Defense: Lawyers John Adams and Josiah Quincy; witnesses Patrick Walker, Hugh White, Hugh Montgomery, and Mathew Kilroy.

The Jury

Strategy

At the trial, both sides were permitted to bring in evidence of events preceding the massacre. The most effective strategy for the prosecution is thus to show that (1) the British soldiers acted in an offensive and provoking manner, causing the crowd's reaction and (2) the British soldiers' lives were not in danger when Kilroy fired and killed Gray. If Kilroy's shot was deliberate, he was guilty of voluntary manslaughter. The other soldiers are therefore accessories to the crime because they were present, fired their guns when their lives were not in danger, and killed innocent people.

The defense strategy is to prove that (1) the colonists constantly provoked the soldiers and (2) at the time of the shootings, the soldiers had good reason to believe their lives were in danger. Thus, they shot in self-defense, as any reasonable person would have done under similar circumstances. Palmes' actions are a key for the defense because they show that the soldiers had good reason to fear the crowd. Thus, they acted in self-defense and should be found not guilty.

Instructions for Lawyers

Before the Trial

1. Divide the case into three parts: the incident at the Ropewalk, the battle of the barber's bill, and the massacre itself.

2. Be thoroughly familiar with the facts of each part of the case.

3. Have questions prepared for each witness – whether friendly or hostile – in advance of the case, particularly for purposes of cross-examination. Remember that asking friendly witnesses questions they are not prepared to answer may confuse them.

4. Prepare an opening statement of approximately three minutes. The opening statement should have a thesis and foreshadow the points witnesses will make during the trial. The statement should also explain why the case is important and what precedents it might set. For example, if the British soldiers get off easy, it may signal that shooting colonists is okay. If the soldiers are convicted, this may signal that colonists can abuse soldiers, leading to a breakdown of law and order in the colonies.

During the Trial

1. Ask each witness to identify self and relate the events as they were observed.

2. Allow friendly witnesses to tell their stories. Then ask witnesses questions to emphasize points you wish the jury to remember.

3. Since each witness may speak for only three minutes and be cross-examined for two minutes, be sure you are well prepared to use your time effectively.

After the Trial

1. Write a concluding statement pointing out what you have proved during the trial by summarizing the testimony of each witness. You may use humor, emotional appeals, and other tricks of oratory to persuade the jury.

Instructions for Witnesses

1. Write out your testimony on paper to be read at the trial. However, you must be thoroughly familiar with your case or suffer embarrassment during cross-examination.

2. Your testimony must be factually accurate, but may be slanted to favor the prosecution or the defense.

Instructions for the Jury

1. Read the chapter before the trial and write down what you think actually happened. Unless you have this frame of reference you will not be able to follow the testimony of witnesses.

2. Take notes on the statement of each witness. After the witness is finished testifying, briefly jot down impressions -- did his testimony seem correct? Was he unable to answer questions? Was he familiar with the facts of the case?

3. Review all notes the evening after the trial. Write a paragraph explaining what you think the verdict should be on the basis of which side most effectively communicated its case. You may vote for voluntary manslaughter if you believe the accused were guilty of a deliberate action; involuntary manslaughter if you believe that the action was accidental or unintended; or acquittal if you believe the accused acted in self-defense. Your paragraph should be at least 200 words and should have a thesis, foreshadowing, and a conclusion.

CHAPTER 10: KENT STATE AND RECURRING HISTORY

Overview:

This chapter begins with the observation that the colonists believed "what happened yesterday will come to pass again." Students then read an account of the tragic events on the Kent State campus in early May 1970. High school students reading this chapter learn that college students frustrated by President Nixon's invasion of Cambodia began a night of violent protest in the town of Kent, Ohio, followed by burning the ROTC building on campus. Governor James Rhodes responded by declaring a curfew on campus and a ban on rallies. The tolling of the victory bell on May 4, 1970, however, attracted students who gathered in violation of the ban. Aside from receiving verbal abuse, only two soldiers were harmed – one from heat exhaustion and the other from a burn caused by a tear gas canister. One contingent of 74 guardsmen drove the protesters back to a chain fence, turned around to join the other guards, and then inexplicably turned toward the students once more and commenced firing as if on a signal. Four students were killed in this barrage of 53 shots; 11 were wounded. The closest of the dead was 273 feet away from where the guards fired.

There were striking similarities between the Boston Massacre and the Kent State incident. Not only were these events separated by an even 200 years, but almost the same number were killed and wounded in each incident. More importantly, the students at Kent State treated the National Guard units, charged with maintaining order on the campus, with the same rudeness and disdain the colonists showed the British soldiers in Boston. The soldiers and the guardsmen were considered an alien force by the protesters. In both cases, the fatal shots were fired at a time when the military units did not seem to be in immediate danger for their lives. Nevertheless, the guards, like all but two of the British soldiers, were exonerated – an issue students discuss and write about in the lesson.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Show four similarities and one difference between the Boston Massacre and the incident at Kent State.

2. Describe the two incidents that led to the calling of the National Guard to Kent State.

3. Explain why they think the National Guard was more/less justified than the British soldiers in firing into the hostile crowd.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 10 for all students

Procedure:

1. Begin class by reviewing the definition/explanation questions. Possible answers are:
   - History repeats itself – colonists believed "what happened yesterday will come to pass again" because the same causes have the same effects, no matter when they happen
   - Cambodia – President Nixon ordered American troops to attack enemy positions in Cambodia, leading to protests on campuses throughout the country.
   - ROTC building – set on fire by demonstrators throwing rocks and flares; when firefighters came to douse the flames, student protesters cut the hoses.
   - James Rhodes – governor of Ohio who banned campus rallies and called protesting students at Kent State the "worst types we have in America."
   - ban on campus rallies – put into effect by Governor Rhodes.

- victory bell – rang to signal the protest, called for noon; the bell was usually used to celebrate football victories.
- small knot of soldiers – group that turned and fired the fatal shots.
- 50 shots – after the initial shot, there was a short pause and 50 shots were fired, followed by another pause and two more shots.
- reasons guardsmen fired – four were suggested: guards were in danger; they were ordered; they conspired; someone fired at them and they were returning fire. It is a fact that a bullet not issued by the National Guard was found on campus after the riots. The markings on the bullet matched the pistol owned by one of the guardsmen.
- Sandy Sheur – one of four students killed, Sheur had been looking for a lost dog; she was not part of any protest.
- General Canterbury – commander of the guardsmen, Canterbury defended the shooting; he said his men had the right to fire in self-defense.
- Kent housewife – defended the guardsmen, saying the shooting represented law and order, God and country, and ice cream cones.
- Mr. Krause – father of young woman killed at Kent State, Krause said she was shot for disagreeing with her government.

2. Next, review the assignment from the previous day. Students were to come to class prepared to discuss whether the National Guardsmen had the right to fire into the crowd. Ask students to give their opinions, using the "P-A-R." analysis (principle, alternatives, results) that was introduced in Chapter 8.

3. Ask the class why they think the guardsmen fired into the crowd – to defend themselves? to teach the students a lesson? to maintain law and order? Ask whether the guardsmen had less violent alternatives. How do the results (dead students and end of protest) affect students' analysis of the incident?

4. Ask students whether history seems to repeat itself. Was the Boston Massacre basically similar to the incident at Kent State with superficial differences, or basically different with superficial similarities? During this analysis, ask students to compare how the soldiers and the guard were treated (or viewed) by the inhabitants and whether the two precipitating incidents were also similar (i.e., the riot in the town of Kent and the burning of the ROTC building compared to the fight at the Ropewalk and the fracas over the barber's bill).

5. Ask students to assess the degree of danger for the guardsmen and British soldiers. In this discussion, students should review some of the following information: (1) the ratio of soldiers and guardsmen to demonstrators (about 300 to 8, and 20 to 1, respectively); (2) the fire power of weapons (M-16s that fire many bullets in the space of a few seconds compared to muzzle-loading guns that took 15 seconds to reload); and (3) the proximity of the victims to the soldiers (about 10 feet or less for the British and 71 feet for the guardsmen, with the closest fatality 273 feet away.

6. Note the similarity of the disposition of both cases. The British soldiers were found guilty of the equivalent of involuntary manslaughter and released with a branding of a finger, while the guardsmen were never indicted by a grand jury. Four years later, the federal government's case that the guardsmen had participated in a conspiracy to deprive their victims of civil rights was thrown out of court before it went to a jury by a federal judge who claimed the prosecution had not made its case.

Preparation for Chapter 11:

Assign students to read Chapter 11 and review the definition/explanation questions. Divide the class into four groups. Group 1 must prepare a short statement arguing that the Tea Party was justified; group 2 that it was not justified; group 3 that the Intolerable Acts were justified; and group 4 that they were not. Students should be instructed to use the "Principle, Alternatives, and Results" analysis.

CHAPTER 11: THE TEA PARTY AND THE INTOLERABLE ACTS

Overview:

This chapter tells the familiar and important story of the Tea Act, the Boston Tea Party, and the Intolerable Acts. Special care is taken to help students understand the reasons for the Tea Act and the reasons why the colonists objected to it so strenuously. The Tea Party is described via a primary-source account, and the Intolerable Acts are listed and explained. The questions at the end of the chapter direct students to focus their thinking on the justification for the Tea Party and the Intolerable Acts. Students write essays arguing that the Tea Party or the Intolerable Acts were or were not justified.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. State the provisions of the Tea Act and at least two reasons it was passed.
2. Explain why the colonists decided to destroy the tea.
3. Give a coherent argument why the Tea Party or the Intolerable Acts were/were not justified.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 11 for all students

Procedure:

1. Seat students so that those who prepared an argument on the Tea Party will be distributed equally around the class among those who prepared an argument on the Intolerable Acts.

2. Briefly discuss the definition/explanation questions. Possible answers are:
   - Townshend Acts – passed in 1767 to replace the Stamp Act, these acts taxed paint, glass, paper, lead, and tea.
   - Tea tax – after repeal of Townshend Acts in 1770, it was the only tax that the colonists still had to pay.
   - East India Tea Company – huge business in which many members of Parliament had investments; the boycott on tea brought the company close to bankruptcy.
   - Tea Act – this act allowed the East India Company to bring tea directly to colonists from England.
   - purpose of the Tea Act – to save the East India Company by getting colonists to pay taxes and stop smuggling.
   - Sons of Liberty – organized opposition to Tea Act; Sam Adams was a prominent member.
   - two major arguments against the Tea Act – (1) belief that property can't be taken without consent, (2) belief that the act would make colonial assemblies useless, (3) belief that the act would destroy liberties in the colonies, or (4) belief that the act would have given a monopoly in tea to the East India Company, setting a precedent that would allow future Parliaments to grant similar monopolies to other companies.
   - Thomas Hutchinson – British governor of Massachusetts who said he would enforce the Tea Act and not send tea ships back to England.
   - Tea Party – hundreds of colonists watched as Sons of Liberty unloaded 342 chests of tea from British ships, broke them open, and dumped their contents into Boston Harbor. Great care was taken to prevent tea being stolen or any other property destroyed.

- Intolerable Acts – passed to punish colonists for Tea Party, these acts closed Boston Harbor until colonists paid for the tea, called for judges to be appointed by the governor, limited colonists to one town meeting per year, and brought British officials accused of crimes in the colonies back to England for their trials.
- Thomas Gage – a British general, he replaced Thomas Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts.

3. Review the assignment from the previous day. Students were to read Chapter 11 and prepare an argument (or write an essay) on whether the Tea Party or the Intolerable Acts were justified. Ask students, in general, what they said.

4. Ask students who prepared to argue for the Tea Party to explain the "principle" for destroying the tea. Have several students give their versions. Then ask those against the Tea Party to explain why they disagree, giving their version of the underlying principle. After 5 to 7 minutes of debate, ask whether less extreme methods could and should have been used. After a suitable period of discussion, ask whether those who destroyed the tea achieved their objectives. Allow students who prepared to argue for or against the Intolerable Acts to join the argument, and then change the focus to the justification of the Intolerable Acts.

5. In grading essays or discussing them in class, be sure to look for the parts of an essay students have been taught to develop, as well as use of the "P-A-R." analysis system. A sample essay supporting the Tea Party is provided, along with notes on points that should be made in the other essays.

> The Tea Party was justified [thesis] because the cause for which the colonists were fighting was just [foreshadowing first argument] and other alternatives had been tried but did not work [foreshadowing second argument].
>
> As we have seen, every Englishman had the right not to be taxed except by a legislature in which he was represented. The colonists were Englishmen that were not represented in Parliament. England therefore had no right to tax them [main body covering the first argument].
>
> The colonists had asked Governor Hutchinson many times to return the tea to England, but he refused. It was only after he turned them down that they threw the tea overboard [main body covering the second argument].
>
> In conclusion, we can say the colonists had the right to destroy the tea because they should not have to pay taxes to England and had tried less violent means to make their point [conclusion, not required].

An essay opposing the Tea Party could point out that the tax on tea was justified because the colonists should pay some tax to Britain, a boycott would have accomplished the same purpose without violence, and all the Tea Party did was bring on the Intolerable Acts, making life worse for the colonies.

An essay favoring the Intolerable Acts would point out that the colonists deserved to be punished for throwing the tea into the water, punitive measures are the only thing that the colonists could understand, and failing to punish the colonists would lead to even more defiance.

An essay opposing the Intolerable Acts could mention that the principle for which the Intolerable Acts were passed was not good because the Tea Party was justified, these Acts unnecessarily punished everyone in Massachusetts for the acts of a few people, and the Acts would only lead to more problems between the colonists and the mother country.

6. Conclude the class by asking all to stay after school because one student talked out of turn or did not hand in his/her homework. Then ask if it's fair to punish all for the acts of a few, as was the case with the Intolerable Acts.

Preparation for Chapter 12:

Assign the class to read Chapter 12. Divide the class into thirds with one group assigned to decide which of the four eyewitness accounts of the Battle of Lexington was probably true, the second group to decide who they think fired the first shot, and the third group to determine who was the aggressor.

CHAPTER 12: THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

Overview:

Although this chapter briefly describes the First Continental Congress and its call for colonists to prepare to fight a defensive war, the bulk of the chapter is presented as an inquiry exercise on the Battle of Lexington. The chapter challenges students to use their powers of perception and the art of the historian to decide which of four conflicting eyewitness accounts to believe. Narratives by two historians from different sides of the Atlantic, clearly as biased as the eyewitnesses, show students what to look for in the history books they read. Questions accompanying the student chapter suggest criteria students can use in evaluating primary and secondary sources.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Recount the events leading to the Battle of Lexington.

2. Give good reasons for rejecting at least two eyewitnesses' and one historian's account of the battle.

3. Tell what they believe actually happened in Lexington and explain what this tells them about the justification for the Revolution and the art of the historian.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 12 for all students

Procedure:

1. Seat students so those assigned to answer different questions are dispersed evenly around the room.

2. Discuss the first two "Chapter Questions" quickly enough to leave 25-35 minutes for discussing the three questions students were told to answer in preparation for the lesson. Suggested answers are given below:

1. Possible definitions/explanations are:

- First Continental Congress – Philadelphia meeting in September 1775 at which representatives of 12 colonies called for a boycott of British goods, recommended that colonists prepare for a defensive war, and issued a statement of the colonists' rights.
- Major Pitcairn – British officer who thought that the "burning of a town or two" would "put everything to right"; he later led the British in the Battle of Lexington.
- the number of British and colonial soldiers at Lexington – 700 British soldiers and 70 colonists.
- the number of killed and wounded on each side – 2 British soldiers and a horse were wounded; 8 colonists were killed, and 10 wounded.
- John Harrington – died on his front porch in his wife's arms.
- Sam Adams – supposedly said "Oh, what a glorious morning it is!" after hearing the shots fired in Lexington; one of the goals of the British was to capture Adams.
- what happened at North Bridge – according to Concord poet Ralph Waldo Emerson, the shots fired at the North Bridge of his town (and not those fired in Lexington) were "heard around the world"; the first British deaths occurred at the bridge.

- what happened to the British on their way back to Boston – while returning to Boston, 247 British soldiers were killed or wounded; the next day, colonial militia surrounded the town.

2. The colonial commander, John Parker, said in sworn testimony that he ordered the militia to disperse but not to shoot; the British then rushed in, firing wildly. According to the British commander, Major Pitcairn, he saw a flash in the pan and no firing from behind a wall, followed by two or three shots from the same place. His horse was hit and his troops fired without orders. His account was told to a friend in the colonies. A member of the colonial militia testified that the British got within 100 feet and their commander called to the colonists to disperse as he waved his sword. The colonists began leaving when another officer fired his pistol at them; this was followed by a volley. A British officer wrote in his diary that there were between 200 and 300 colonists on the Green in Lexington. They fired one or two shots when the British approached. The British soldiers responded by rushing at them and firing without orders.

   The British historian characterized his countrymen as "respectable gentlemen of unimpeachable character"; he called the colonists "peasants." The American historian, on the other hand, called the colonists "village heroes" of a "race divine." Although he did not directly call the British murderers, it is clear that he regarded them as such.

3. Call on students who were asked to decide which account is most reliable to explain their choices. The answers should be based on the criteria listed in question 3 of the "Chapter Questions."

4. Ask the second group of students who they think fired the first shot. One way of helping students focus on this question is to review each account of who fired first, looking at where that person was when the shot was fired. Analysis should also include agreement of testimony with known information; for example, Barker said there were 200 to 300 colonists on the Green, but the consensus today is there actually were only 70.

5. Ask the third group of students who they think was the aggressor at Lexington and whether knowing who fired the first shot is essential to making that determination. Students should discuss whether the colonists had the right to stand on the Green in military formation, whether they provoked the British, whether the British had a right to go to Concord to seize the colonists' weapons, and whether the Intolerable Acts (which led to the colonists' arming themselves) were justified.

6. If time permits, ask students what this exercise tells of the beginning of the Revolution and what they should believe.

Preparation for Chapter 13:

Ask students to do the definition/explanation questions in the next chapter and come to class prepared to discuss the "state of nature," why people form governments, and what all this has to do with the American Revolution.

CHAPTER 13: BY WHAT RIGHT – THE STATE OF NATURE AND THE RIGHT TO REBEL

Overview:

This chapter begins by raising the issue of when laws may be broken as a means of introducing students to the ideas of the philosophers of the Enlightenment regarding the state of nature, the social contract, and the right to rebel. The contrasting views of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke are discussed and summarized in a chart presenting the philosophers' own words. The chapter concludes by explaining modern-day views related to the philosophies of Hobbes and Locke and encourages students to discover and articulate their thinking on these issues.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Explain what is meant by the state of nature, the social contract, and the right to rebel.

2. Explain how Hobbes's and Locke's thinking about humans in their natural state affected these philosophers' thoughts on the social contract and the right to rebel.

3. Understand different ways people today think of human nature and how that affects their thoughts on law-and-order issues.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 13 for all students

Procedure:

1. Review the assignment from the previous day. In addition to doing the identification/explanation questions, students were to come to class prepared to discuss what is meant by a state of nature, why people form governments, and what all of this has to do with the American Revolution.

2. Discuss the issues raised by the assignment. Ask students what they think people were like before there was government or whether people could live on a small island with no government at all.

3. Encourage students to work in small groups interviewing one another on their views of the state of nature and the social contract. If there is time, have groups report back to the class what they learned from one another.

4. If many students are having difficulty with the basic concepts of this lesson, review the definition/explanation questions. Possible answers are:

- state of nature – hypothetical condition of people before the advent of government, assumed by philosophers of the Enlightenment to be the basis for forming governments. The easiest equivalent for students may be the term *human nature*.
- social contract – the symbolic act of agreeing to be bound by a government in order to escape or leave the state of nature.
- Charles I and James II – British kings disposed of by revolutionaries whose acts were later justified/condemned by philosophers, most notably John Locke and Thomas Hobbes.
- state of nature according to Hobbes – life in the state of nature was short, nasty, and brutish; people lived in a continual fear of violent death.
- state of nature according to John Locke – people were basically free and equal in the state of nature.

- right to rebel according to Locke – people, who are free and equal in a state of nature, enter into a government to protect their rights and can rebel if the government takes away the rights it was to protect.
- right to rebel according to Hobbes – since people formed governments to end the state of war that is natural to them, they may not rebel because it returns them to the condition they were trying to escape.
- Thomas Jefferson – Jefferson's views on state of nature and right to rebel were strongly influenced by John Locke.
- follower of Thomas Hobbes today – would probably come down hard on the side of law and order and be a strict disciplinarian.
- follower of John Locke today – would probably rely on trust, mild laws, and the power of good examples to order society.

Preparation for Chapter 14:

Tell students to read Chapter 14 carefully enough to understand the meaning of the Declaration of Independence, as well as its logic and development. Then ask students to memorize the part of this wonderful declaration that begins "We hold these truths to be self-evident..." and ends "to institute a new government."

You may also wish to have students prepare a short statement on the Declaration of Independence, noting if it should be viewed primarily as (1) an accurate interpretation of the causes of the American Revolution and the ideals for which it was fought, (2) a piece of propoganda that did not reflect what most of the men who signed it believed, and/or (3) the ideals that all Americans should be working to bring about in their times.

CHAPTER 14: UNDERSTANDING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Overview:

This chapter on the Declaration of Independence begins by describing its four major parts. This division helps students understand the philosophy on which this great document was based and appreciate the tight and logical argument it develops. These four parts are the introduction, statement of philosophy, list of grievances, and declaration of independence. Excerpts from each part are provided for student analysis, although not all of the grievances in the Declaration are included in the list.

The focus of the lesson is interpreting the Declaration. Students are asked to memorize Jefferson's statement of Locke's ideas on the nature of government and to take a position on various statements describing the Declaration.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Identify and state the contents of each of the four major parts of the Declaration of Independence.

2. Cite from memory the philosophy on which this country was founded.

3. Explain the role of the Declaration in history and a personal view on what it should mean to Americans today.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 14 for all students

Procedure:

1. Review the assignment from the previous day. Discuss the definition/explanation questions. Possible answers are:

- the four major parts of the Declaration of Independence – an introduction stating the purpose of this document, a statement of the philosophy of government on which this nation was founded, a list of the grievances against Great Britain, and the formal declaration that the 13 colonies were free and independent states.
- the two truths Jefferson said were self-evident – that all men are created equal and that they have the same God-given, unalienable rights.
- rights of all people – life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
- what Jefferson said the purpose of government was – to protect the unalienable rights bestowed on man by the creator.
- the people's right if the government does not do what it is formed to do – they may alter or abolish it, but not for "light and transient reasons."
- three rights taken away from the colonists by the British – students may list any three given in the grievances list in the chapter.
- the United Colonies – the former British American colonies that united and later became the United States of America.

2. Pass out paper, have students clear their desks, and ask them to write as much of the philosophy of government under the Declaration of Independence as they can remember. Students will need in the neighborhood of 12 to 15 minutes to complete this exercise. When they are done, collect their papers.

3. Students' attention should be focused on question 3 in the "Chapter Questions." This question presents three different ways of looking at the Declaration of Independence. Each statement should be read aloud by one of the students, followed by class discussion. Time permitting, students could discuss these statements in small groups and report to the whole class, or a few students could volunteer to take a controversial interpretation and defend it before the entire class.

Preparation for Chapter 15:

Divide the class into seven groups – three groups of Patriots, three groups of Tories, and undecided. Ask one group of Tories and one group of Patriots to prepare arguments covering statements 1-3 in Chapter 15; the next group of Patriots and Tories should prepare arguments covering statements 4-6; the third group must prepare arguments covering statements 7-9. Ask students who are undecided to prepare embarrassing questions forcing one side or the other to defend untenable positions. For example, they might ask Patriots if they believed in God-given rights, why they didn't free their slaves. Tories might be asked why Britain punished all of Massachusetts for the acts (Tea Party) of no more than 150 people.

CHAPTER 15: PATRIOTS AND TORIES

Overview:

This chapter is really an exercise, providing only one piece of new information but encouraging students to look back over the entire unit from the perspective of justifying the Revolution. The new information is the fact that colonists were approximately evenly divided between those favoring the Revolution, those opposing it, and the undecided. A listing of nine important issues students studied in this unit is provided. These issues could be divided into three categories: (1) how the colonists fared under British rule, (2) who actually instigated the various conflicts, and (3) whether the British had the right to make laws for the colonies.

Students are to debate whether these issues justified the Revolution. Each side in the debate should make a thesis statement and foreshadow their main arguments, somewhat as follows:

> The American Revolution was justified (thesis) because the colonists did not benefit from living within the British Empire (foreshadowing point 1), the British constantly instigated conflicts with the colonists (foreshadowing point 2), and the British were denying the colonists the rights they were supposed to protect (foreshadowing point 3).
>
> Or
>
> The American Revolution was not justified (thesis) because the colonists benefited from living under British rule (foreshadowing point 1), instigated fights with the British (foreshadowing point 2), and acted provocatively by breaking laws and refusing to pay taxes (foreshadowing point 3).

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. Decide whether they think the American Revolution was justified.

2. Understand how arguments on both sides of this issue fit together with thesis and foreshadowing.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 15 for all students. Students should be sure to bring their notebooks for the unit to class.

Procedure:

1. Review the assignment from the previous day. Students were to come to class with arguments for three of the issues in the chapter. Go over the thesis and foreshadowing statements in the chapter with students. Work with each group to help students put their arguments together.

2. Have all the Tories work together and all the Patriots work together to prepare opening statements for the debate. Work with each group to help students put their arguments together. Students who are not prepared to participate as presenters in class will spend the preparation time refining questions to likely punch holes into the debaters' arguments. For instance, they may ask the Patriots why they did not extend the doctrine of equal rights to their slaves, or they could ask the Tories why the British punished all of Massachusetts for a Tea Party in which only 150 colonists participated.

3. When students are ready, have one person get up from each side to state their thesis with proper foreshadowing. Then allow two or three students to present their arguments on whether the colonists benefited from living in the British Empire. This will be followed by a formal statement and argument on the same issue from the other side. Those in the middle will be asked to decide which group of students has the best argument on that point and state why.

4. Continue the debate by covering the second issue – whether the British constantly instigated conflicts or whether the colonists failed to pay their fair share of taxes and/or disobeyed reasonable laws. When the second issue has been decided, the debate can proceed to the third – whether the colonists' unalienable rights were violated or they forfeited such rights because of their provocative acts and failure to live up to the principles they were supposedly fighting to protect.

5. **Alternative assignment:** If students cannot handle the idea of foreshadowing major arguments, debate could be held on the original nine points as assigned in Chapter 14.

Preparation for Chapter 16:

Tell students that the next reading will help them decide *what* caused the Revolution, rather than *who* caused it. Ask them if they understand the difference between these ideas. Then tell them that as they read the last chapter, they should think about whether the Revolution was really fought over patriotic motives, economic interests, or simple because things got out of hand. Students should also complete the "Chapter Questions."

CHAPTER 16: THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Overview:

This chapter on the causes of the Revolution is a gentle invitation to students who may never have had this experience to determine the underlying causes of historic events. In the interest of clarity, the chapter presents only three schools of historic interpretation – the political, the economic, and psychological. The political, students are told, flows naturally from the way a nation celebrates its triumph over an enemy. It was not surprising, therefore, for the early historians to have made American heroes somewhat larger than life, and that these heroes became mythical figures.

The second interpretation, the economic, is almost a direct opposite of the heroic. Students are introduced to this interpretation with a very brief account of problems facing the nation during the Progressive Era, when the economic interpretation first became prominent. This interpretation holds that the real cause of the Revolution was the struggle between merchants, speculators, and adventurers on one side of the Atlantic with their counterparts on the other side. This interpretation usually finds a strong following among students who are cynical and have trouble finding anything good to say about the United States and those who think they are knowledgeable about how things "really work" in this country.

The third interpretation, the psychological, is presented through the work of Bernard Bailyn. Bailyn, a noted authority on the ideological-intellectual history of the Revolutionary period, had read almost every pamphlet and newspaper written at the time. In these he saw the workings of mutual suspicions: the colonists' suspecting that the British meant to oppress them and the British suspecting that the colonists were intending to "rise in rebellion." This interpretation is often popular among high school students, who find it attractive because it helps them understand relations with their parents. In these relationships, young people are often caught in a tangled web of mutual distrust in which each side tends to act in self-defense but unwittingly succeeds only in confirming the other's suspicions.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this lesson, students should be able to:

1. State and explain three different theories on the causes of the American Revolution.

2. Select one of these theories as more useful than the others in explaining the events they studied in this unit.

3. Outline and write an essay on the underlying causes of the American Revolution.

Time Required: 2-3 class periods

Materials: Copies of student Chapter 16 for all students

Procedure:

1. Review the assignment from the previous day. Students were to read chapter 16 and be prepared to discuss which interpretation they think best explains the causes of the American Revolution.

2. Discuss student conceptions of the causes, but be ready to complete the definition/explanation questions if students need more help in understanding the chapter. Possible answers are:

- kinds of questions asked in this unit – What were the conditions of the time? What were the events of importance? Why did these events happen? Who was "right"?
- immediate cause – specific events that trigger others, like the shot fired at Lexington.

- underlying causes – long-term factors that lead to other events, like disagreement over trade and taxes.
- three interpretations of the Revolution's causes – the political, economic, and psychological.
- George Bancroft – historian of the heroic school.
- "not fear to take up arms" – Bancroft characterized the heroic settlers in Massachusetts who came here to pray and would not be afraid of defending their liberties. He also said the Patriots in Lexington were of a divine race, inspired by the example of Jesus Christ, who sacrificed their lives for all mankind.
- Andrew Hacker – historian who wrote the economic interpretation, saying the Revolution was fought over trade and industry, not ideals.
- three examples of economic activity given by Hacker – western lands, sugar trade, trade in fur and wine, and colonial manufacturing.
- Bernard Bailyn – historian who wrote the "mutual suspicions" interpretation.
- "deliberate policies" and "active conspiracy" – colonists thought laws on tax and trade passed by Parliament were not just bad laws but were intended to oppress them. Meanwhile the British thought the colonists weren't just protesting unpopular laws, but that they were conspiring to "rise in rebellion" against them.

3. Ask students if they think the Revolution was about patriotic Americans seeking independence against a scurrilous king and Parliament who wouldn't give in – a "good guys" vs. "bad guys" interpretation. Ask them if they, instead, see the Revolution as a contest over control of western lands and colonial trade rather than American independence. Finally, ask them whether they think the Revolution came because both sides, while thinking they were just protecting their rights, really antagonized the other side and escalated the conflict until they came to the point that neither knew how to stop.

4. Review the second "Chapter Question" with students, using each of the three interpretations to explain the reasons for the Tea Party and the Intolerable Acts. Repeat the exercise, but use the Stamp Act and the protests that followed as the example to review.

5. Discuss "Chapter Question" 3. Explain to students that they will really be writing four minor essays with the same thesis: an essay on taxes and the trade laws (mercantile laws and whether they hurt the colonial economy, the Stamp Act, the Townshend Acts, the Tea Act); an essay on the colonists' objections to British policies (Patrick Henry's speech, the pronouncements of the Stamp Act Congress, and the Declaration of Independence); an essay on violence and the British response to it (the Tea Party leading to the Intolerable Acts leading to the collection of weapons and the Battle of Lexington); and an essay on why other interpretations are weak and incorrect.

6. Assign students to come to class the next day with their thesis statements, foreshadowing, and an outline for the paper. Tell every student he/she needs to pass that in to you and will get it back with suggestion from you the next day.

7. Set the due date of the essay over the next weekend. At the beginning or ending of class periods while students are working on the essays outside of class, check to be sure that they are on the right track.

REFERENCES

American Heritage Book of the Revolution, by Richard Ketchum, ed. (New York: American Heritage, 1958).

Done in typical American Heritage style, this book begins with a chapter on the world at the time of the Revolution and examines the events leading up to it. Most of this lavishly illustrated and interesting book, however, is devoted to the military campaigns and battles of the war.

American Revolution, The, by John Richard Alden (New York: Harper and Row, 1954).

Alden continues the story from Gipson's earlier volume in the *New American Nation Series*, focusing on the major campaigns and battles of the Revolution. He also pays attention to the political manueverings of the Continental Congress as well as life on the homefront.

American Revolution, The, by Robert Middlekauff (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

This account provides a detailed history of events, party battles, and conflicting loyalties during the period beginning with the ascent of King George III to the British throne in 1760 to the ratification of the Constitution in 1788.

Birth of the Republic, The, 1763-1789, by Edmund S. Morgan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

This is perhaps the best short history of the period told by a master storyteller whose breezy narrative leaves no doubt that Charles Beard's economic interpretations are found wanting.

Causes of the American Revolution, The, by John C. Wahlke, ed. (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1973).

An Amherst series account on the causes of the Revolution, this book excerpts the writings of well-known historians. The book covers (among other interpretations) British mercantilism and colonial capitalism, and the social basis as well as the ideological aspects of the Revolution.

Coming of the Revolution, The, 1763-75, by Lawrence Henry Gipson (New York: Harper and Row, 1954).

Gipson concerned himself with the forces of nationalism and federalism in the British Empire, which led to the American Revolution. His eminently readable account focuses on the events leading to the Revolution as well as their causes and significance. The book is part of the *New American Nation Series*, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard Morris.

Founding of a Nation, The: The History of the American Revolution, 1763-1776, by Merrill Jensen (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).

This detailed description of the 13 years leading to the Revolution covers both sides of the Atlantic. Jensen provides a social, economic, and political history and does an excellent job covering the background of the important events as well as the leading personalities who shaped them. His careful and patient descriptions should be relatively easy reading for high school students as long as they are not expected to read more than one or two chapters at a time.

New Nation Now Begins, A, by Page Smith (New York: McGraw Hill, 1976).

Smith writes a history of the Revolution as a democratic movement, which he claims is "not the creation in any sense of the historian but merely the consequence of his desire to set down as directly as possible a narrative of the events." Page Smith's fully packed two-volume history deals with real

people, great and small; it follows not only the campaigns and battles, but also the lavish balls and diplomatic activity, allowing readers to draw their own conclusions.

Origins of the American Revolution, by John C. Miller (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1943).

Though somewhat outdated, Miller's account has anticipated the works of concensus historians such as Edmund Morgan. This ample work covers the ideological causes and analyzes the economic factors leading to the Revolution. Miller begins by reviewing the economic and political life in the colonies and Great Britain before the Revolution and treats events, as well as the personalities and conflicts that produced them, in great detail.

Spirit of Seventy Six, The, by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958).

Relying completely on primary source accounts, this captivating, 1300-page military history of the Revolution concerns itself only briefly with the events that led to the war, but covers such human-interest topics as songs and ballads of the Revolution, conditions in hospitals and prison ships, and political activities on both sides of the Atlantic. This rich sourcebook ends, appropriately, with George Washington's resigning his military commission on December 23, 1783.

CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY

In studying history, we will be looking for the answers to four important questions:

- What were the social, economic, and political conditions at the time?
- What were the important events?
- Who was "right"? That is, what should have been done?
- Why did these events happen? What was the most important underlying reason for the events and actions of people at that time?

Example: The Battle of Lexington

On the morning of April 19, 1775, about 70 farmers stood on the town green in Lexington, Massachusetts. They had been warned by Paul Revere that hundreds of British soldiers marching to Concord would be passing through Lexington. The British hoped to capture colonial leaders and destroy military supplies kept in Concord. Arriving in Lexington with an army of 700 men or more, the British spied the colonists waiting for them. For several minutes, all was quiet. Then a British officer shouted something, a shot sounded from an unknown source, and the British opened fire. The colonists ran in confusion, leaving eight of their men dead or dying on the village green. With this unexpected incident, the American Revolution had begun.

Conditions at the Time. To understand this battle, historians want to know more about the way people lived in colonial America. They study *social* history, the customs and lifestyles of the people. They look at how people worked and earned a living, *economic* history. They want to know how the colonies were governed, *political* history. Historians are also interested in what people read and thought about; this is called *intellectual* history. All of these kinds of history – political, social, economic, and intellectual – help describe the conditions of the time.

What Happened. To identify and describe the events that took place at the battle on Lexington Green, historians would ask such questions as: How many soldiers were on each side? Who fired the first shot? How many people were killed?

Historians often try to get as much information as possible from people who were actually present at the events. They read sworn testimony at the time, diaries, newspaper accounts, and similar documents. These materials are called *primary sources*. After reading these primary sources, historians, like detectives, try to figure out whose account is most accurate. The descriptions that historians write are called *secondary sources*. At times in this unit, you will be the historian, sifting through evidence to figure out exactly what happened. Most of the time you will be reading secondary sources, in which others have done the sifting of facts and inform you of their conclusions.

Who Was "Right." It is one thing to find out what happened. It is quite another to analyze who was "right." Although historians are supposed to be neutral, thinking about the decisions that were made can be the most interesting part of studying history. In considering the Battle of Lexington, for example, historians might ask: Were the colonists right to gather on the Green? Did the British officer make a good decision when he shouted to his troops? How did these decisions affect what happened? Who was responsible for the fighting? The answers to these questions are opinions and can cause disagreements among historians, teachers, and students. Becoming your own historian means that your opinions – when supported with facts and logic – can be as valuable as those of your teacher or a historian.

Why Events Happened. The final question asked by historians is why did these events happen? Events usually have *immediate* and *underlying* causes. The immediate causes are such events as the Battle of Lexington, which led almost directly to the Revolution itself. The underlying causes are much harder to pin down. Often they are best understood in terms of economic, social, political, or intellec-

tual history. A number of different causes can lead to a complicated event such as the American Revolution. In this unit, you will be asked to think about underlying causes and decide which was the single most important cause of the Revolution. You will try to make the connections yourself, rather than depending on the teacher or textbook to give you the answers.

The Four Questions in Our Own Times

The kinds of questions listed above are as important to the study of the present as they are to studying history. Whether events happened 200 years ago or 2 days ago, the same kinds of questions are raised. Consider the following example.

A demonstrator in a city throws a rock. A police officer cracks the demonstrator on the head. It is important that those who study this event know something of the social, political, and economic conditions of the time. The judge, however, may want to know just the facts – what happened. Opposing lawyers will try to convince jurors that their client's version of the event is accurate. The jury will then decide who was "right" according to the law. Others will also debate this issue. Did the violence occur because of the way people must live in that city? Social, political, and economic historians may explain the behavior of the demonstrator and police in these terms. The immediate cause might have been a particular incident, but the underlying causes are far more complicated.

In this unit on the Revolution, you will be involved in the search for answers. You will be asked to think about events: in the process you will learn to reason, write, and speak more effectively – and to understand the past and the present more fully.

Chapter Questions

1. Define or identify and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
    - the 4 kinds of questions historians ask
    - social history
    - economic history
    - political history
    - intellectual history
    - primary sources
    - secondary sources
    - immediate causes
    - underlying causes
    - first shot
    - Battle of Lexington
    - demonstrator
2. For each area of historical study, list objects or documents you might examine to identify conditions at a particular time. For example, social historians might examine a toy.
    - political history
    - social history
    - economic history
    - intellectual history
    - military history (extra credit)

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL CLASS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

Americans have always differed in terms of their income, jobs, reputations, and education. Some are rich while others are poor; some are doctors and lawyers while others are carpenters and unskilled workers; some are highly regarded (looked up to) and others have little or no influence. Some are well educated; others cannot read or write. We often use the term *social class* when we talk about these differences. In this chapter, you will be reading about social class differences in the United States today and in colonial times.

Social Class Today

At 7 o'clock in the morning, the radio began playing a song with a heavy rock beat. John reached over to the side of the bed. "Damn, it's cold," he murmured, "too cold for school. Besides, there's nothing in this house to eat." The paint on the ceiling of his room was peeling, and there was no rug on the bare floor. In the next room, John's two sisters huddled together in their single bed.

John shared his room with his brother, Bill. Bill was already gone; he was 17, and had dropped out of school to work in a meat plant. With no father at home, everyone who could had to help out.

* * * * *

In another part of town, Mary was calling Jason DePaul III, "Your bath is ready. Get up or you will miss the station wagon. It's coming in half an hour."

"What's for breakfast?" Jason asked as his feet slid out of bed onto the deeply piled rug in his room. "It better not be bacon and eggs again." He headed for the clothes hung out for him the night before. Mary had ironed his pants and shirt last night. He took them with him as he made his way to his own private bathroom.

* * * * *

John and Jason are members of two different social classes. The dividing lines between various social classes are not always clear, but differences among them do exist. How would you define the term *social class* based on the cases of these two young men?

* * * * *

Social Class in Colonial America

Social classes also existed in colonial America. The following readings are primary sources; that is, they were written by people who were alive at the time. From these primary sources, you will learn about four different people – each with different income, education, lifestyle, and influence.

William Byrd and His Secret Diary. William Byrd lived in Virginia in the early 1700s. One of the richest men of his day, he owned a large plantation. We know many details of his life because he kept a secret diary. He wrote in it using a shorthand he made up. In 1940, two historians deciphered his shorthand. Now we can read parts of this wealthy man's secrets and learn more about him and his social class.

> August 18, 1709
>
> I rose at 5 o'clock and read a chapter in Hebrew and 150 verses in Greek. I said my prayers and ate milk for breakfast. Anaka was whipped yesterday for stealing the rum and filling the bottles with water. I went to church. Colonel Eppes and his wife came to dine with me. I took a walk about the plantation.

October 10, 1710

I rose about 5 o'clock and got myself ready for my trip. I got on horseback about 7 and rode to Williamsburg....About 1 o'clock I went to see the Governor,... My wife sent a present of wine which was kindly accepted.... we took leave of the Governor and went to the coffeehouse. Here we played cards till 11 o'clock. Then we went to my lodgings but my servant was gone to bed and I was locked out. However, I called him and beat him for it.[1]

The Autobiography of Devereaux Jarratt. Unlike William Byrd's secret diary, Jarratt's *Autobiography* was written for people to read. Jarratt, a minister, used much of his book to draw moral lessons for his readers. He also provided some important information about social class in colonial America.

I begin with my birth. I was born in New Kent, a county in Virginia, about 25 miles below Richmond, in January, 1732. I was the youngest child of Robert Jarratt and Sarah, his wife.

My grandmother, as I was told, was born in Ireland. Both she and my grandfather died before I was born. I don't know much about them, except that they were poor, hard working people, and rough in their manners. They were able to buy a large piece of land, about 1200 acres. They had no slaves – probably because they were against this kind of property.

My father was brought up to the trade of a carpenter, at which he worked till the very day he died. He was a mild, kind man, and much respected among his neighbors. My parents always had plenty of plain food and clean clothing, in keeping with their low station in life. Our food was always grown on our farm, except a little sugar. Our clothing was always of my mother's making, except for hats and shoes. We made no use of tea or coffee for breakfast, or at any other time; nor did I know a single family that made any use of them. Meat, bread, and milk was the ordinary food of all the people I knew.

I suppose the richer people might make use of these and other luxuries, but I never got to know any of them. We were used to look up at them, what we called "gentle folks," as beings of a superior order. For my part, I was quite shy of them, and kept off at a humble distance. A wig in those days was a distinguishing badge of gentle folk – when I saw a man riding the road, near our house, with a wig on, I would get scared and I would ride off as for my life. Such ideas of the difference between gentle folk and simple, were, I believe, common among all of my class and age.

Both my brothers were taught the trade of carpenter and miller at which they worked for the most part of their lives. At 8 or 9 years old, I was sent to an English school in the neighborhood; and I continued to go to one teacher and another (but only for parts of a year) till I was 12 or 13. In this time, I learned to read in the Bible, and to write a sorry script, and learned some Arithmetic. With this small bit of education, I left school never to return again.[2]

Story of a Virginia Servant. The court records of the State of Virginia reveal the story of a servant who was accused of attempting to kill his master's wife.

I was sold to one Cutbeard Williamson, living at a Plantation called Hard Labour, Virginia. Williamson promised me I should be Teaching his Children, and not be set to any manual work. I found their dealings different than their fair promises. Although my work was very hard, I decided to do my best at it. What bothered me most was the unworthy scouldings which I received daily and hourly from my ill-tongued Mistress. She would not only swear and curse at me within doors, but like a live Ghost would haunt

> me, when I was quiet in the Outside at work. I silently worked as fast as she demanded, without even muttering at her. But even my silence and hard work could not charm her terrible temper and vile tongue. Those things burning and broiling in my breast, tempted me to run away. Giving my master the empty bag to hold I ran off.[3]

The Curry Comb. Philip Fithian was a tutor at one of the largest plantations in Virginia, located next to William Byrd's estate. Fithian kept a diary, from which the following story is taken.

> I heard Mr. George Lee's Overseer, one Morgan, say the other day that he himself had often done to Negroes, and found it useful; He said that whipping of any kind does them no good, for they will laugh at your greatest Severity; But he told us he had invented two things, and by several experiments had proved their success. – For Sulleness, Obstinancy, or Idleness, says he, Take a Negro, strip him, tie him fast to a post; take then a sharp Curry-Comb, & curry him severely til he is well scrap'd; & call a Boy with some dry Hay, and make the Boy rub him down for several Minutes, then salt him, & unlose him. He will attend to his Business, (said the inhuman Infidel) afterwards![4]

* * * * *

Based on the documents you just read, you can draw some conclusions on social class in colonial America. These conclusions can be compared to conclusions by historians who have examined thousands of primary source documents similar to these.

Chapter Questions (Part 1)

1. Identify or define and briefly explain the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
   - social class
   - John and Jason
   - primary source
   - William Byrd
   - the governor
   - Devereaux Jarratt
   - wig
   - "gentle folk"
   - Virginia servant
   - "fair promises"
   - curry comb
2. Compare the lives of Byrd and the Virginia servant. Consider their income, occupation, education, and power or influence.
3. Write a short essay on social class in colonial America. Your teacher will give you more detailed instructions for writing the essay.

* * * * *

In the first part of this chapter, you read primary source documents on social class. Historians use primary sources, but their own writings are considered secondary sources. The second part of this chapter is secondary source material. It describes the ideas of historian Jackson Turner Main, who wrote a book called *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America*.[5] As you read about Main's ideas, compare them with those you wrote in your essay.

The Social Structure of Revolutionary America

According to Main, colonial society had social classes, but it was only partly aristocratic. Main said it was also partly democratic. The five classes described by Main were the permanent working class, the working class, the middle class, the upper middle class, and the upper class.

The Permanent Working Class. The permanent working class consisted of those who always remained at the bottom of society. Slaves formed the largest part of this class. Slaves made up 23 percent of the population in 1760; four-fifths of these slaves lived in the South, near the coast. Where slaves were scarce, white indentured servants or wage workers were used instead. Indentured servants were those whose passage to the colonies was paid for by someone else. The servant then worked for that person for five to seven years. At the end of that time, the servant could start life on his or her own. However, out of twenty whites, only one or two remained permanently poor. Thus, according to Main, the whole permanent working class (both white and black) was less than 30 percent of the population.

The Working Class. At any point in time, colonial America had a working class of about 33 to 40 percent of the people; this group included slaves, white servants, and other workers who owned no land. The working class earned next to nothing. Instead, they depended on their employers to give them food, clothing, and shelter. Free workers did receive a small wage, which allowed them to save some money if they did not have to support a family. Free workers who owned some property and had a skill, such as carpentry, could move up into the middle class.

Most of the people in the working class owned no property. Those who did owned less than $8,500 (in today's dollars) worth. Many farmers were no better off; there were, for example, many landowners in western Massachusetts and southern Delaware whose property was worth no more than £5 ($600). Many others lived on and farmed other people's farms.

The Middle Class. According to Main, the middle class in the colonies consisted of small property holders who were self-employed. This "middling sort" was the largest and most important part of colonial society. It was made up of several different groups of people. Small farmers were the most numerous – 40 percent of all whites and one-third of the whole population. These farmers were generally self-sufficient (did not depend on others for life's necessities). They earned enough to allow them to pay their debts, buy a few luxuries, and save a little money. Those with some luck or with good farm land close to towns and cities could make considerably more.

The "middling sort" also included craftsmen such as weavers, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. Those who did not have their own shops barely made it into the middle class. However, those with their own businesses or workshops often did quite well – like the farmer with his own farm. Goldsmiths, silversmiths (like Paul Revere), and distillers (who made liquor) were quite well off and in the upper middle class.

The Upper Middle Class. Though this was not the case with teachers, professionals often did better than the farmers and skilled craftsmen. Doctors and ministers, for instance, made enough money to educate their sons, who then also entered into the professions. Other members of the upper middle classes included ship's captains, innkeepers, and most government officials. The general income of this class ranged between $30,000 and $60,000 (today's dollars).

The Upper Class. As defined by Main, most of the upper class owned large amounts of property – an estate of $600,000 or more. In the South, members of this class were usually plantation owners with

500 acres of land and 20 or more slaves. About 10 percent of the whites were this wealthy. This number included about 10 percent of all landowners, ministers, and doctors; less than half of all merchants; and most lawyers. The income of this class which controlled almost all the country's wealth, was in the neighborhood of $140,000.

It must be remembered that even this upper class was far from closed; men owning estates worth $300,000 in today's dollars often made it into the upper class. The upper class before the Revolution contained many people, such as Ben Franklin, who began life with very little property.

Chapter Questions (Part 2)

1. Identify or define and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
    - Jackson Turner Main
    - slaves
    - indentured servants
    - working class
    - free workers
    - middle class
    - upper middle class
    - upper class
2. Briefly describe the condition of people in the upper, middle, and working classes in colonial America. Use both the primary and the secondary source information in writing your descriptions.
3. Do you think that social class differences in colonial America were too great? Why or why not? Write a paragraph answering this question. Give your thesis (main idea) in your first sentence.

Sources

1. Excerpted and adapted from *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712*, edited by Louis B. Wright (Salem, NH: Ayer, reprint of 1941 edition).
2. Excerpted and adapted from "The Autobiography of Devereaux Jarratt," by Douglas Adair, *William and Mary Quarterly* IX, no. 3 (July 1952), pp. 360-363. Used by permission of the publisher.
3. Excerpted and adapted from *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, edited by John R. Commons (Ohio: The Arthur Clark Co., 1910), pp. 360-361.
4. Excerpted from *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774*, edited by Hunter D. Farish (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1965), pp. 38-39. Used by permission of the publisher.
5. See *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America*, by Jackson Turner Main (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 133-134.

CHAPTER 3: THE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT

Many of our ideas about government originated in Great Britain. The British had three branches of government – executive, legislative, and judicial. The colonists had the same branches, as we do today. In this chapter, you will learn more about the three parts of government and how they work.

The British Government

The legislative, or law-making, branch of the British government is called Parliament. Parliament has two houses, or parts. The so-called "upper" house in Great Britain is the House of Lords. In the 18th century, its members were nobles with a title and an estate (large piece of property – often a castle and thousands of acres). Both estate and title were passed down from the father to the oldest son.

The other house of Parliament is called the House of Commons. It got this name because the people who first served there did not have titles and inherited estates. They were more likely to be "common" people, but they certainly were not poor. In the 1760s, in order to be elected to the House of Commons, one needed to own property. Indeed, even to vote, an Englishman had to own property, and only 1 in 20 English *men* in those days had enough property to vote.

The executive branch of government *executes* or carries out the law. The executive branch collects taxes, delivers mail, commands the army, and arrests criminals. The chief executive in England was the king (or queen). At one time the king of England could do almost anything he wanted. He could dismiss Parliament (send it home for another election). He could appoint people to almost every job in government from chambermaid to admiral of the navy. He could pardon people who were condemned to death. He could order ships to sail to the New World. He could close down newspapers that printed things he did not like. He could tell his people what religion they should follow. Unless overthrown in a revolution, he kept his job for life. By the 18th century, however, some of the king's powers had been limited by Parliament.

The third branch of government is the judicial branch. This branch is charged with interpreting the laws and resolving conflicts over the law. These conflicts may be disputes between two citizens, or they may be conflicts between the government and a citizen over whether the citizen has broken the law. In Great Britain, the House of Lords is involved in one judicial function – it determines whether laws violate the nation's constitution. This power is called judicial review.

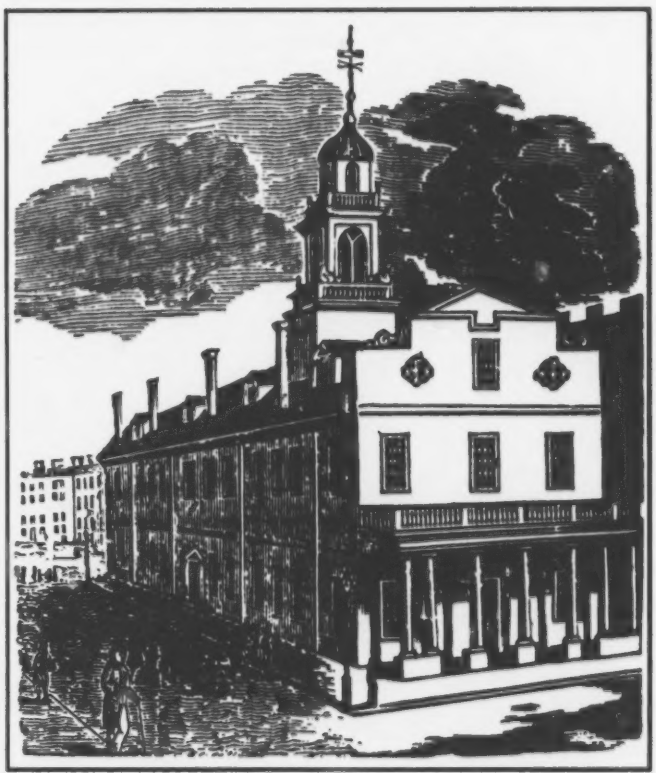
Government in Colonial America

As you might expect, the colonial governments were in many ways similar to the British government, but there were also important differences. The executive branch of colonial government consisted of the governor and his council. In most colonies (the royal colonies) the governor was appointed by the king. In two colonies, the people elected the governors. In others, the proprietor (owner of the colony) appointed the governor. The governor usually chose his own council of advisors. Governors also appointed the magistrates – minor officials with power to administer and enforce the law and act as judges in trials.

The colonial governors were not always popular in the colonies. They represented Britain, seeing that the colony helped the mother country. The governors therefore vetoed laws that England would not like.

The law-making branch of government in the colonies was called the Assembly. One important weapon in the hands of colonial Assemblies was the power to make appointments. In England the king appointed admirals, governors, generals, and the tax collector. In the colonies the governors could not appoint local officials. This power was usually given to the colonial Assemblies. Thus, the Assembly and not the governor had the power of *patronage* (jobs or favors given by politicians), which could be exchanged for a vote or other favor.

Governors often experienced a great deal of trouble from the colonial assemblies. In these fights the governors often were at a disadvantage. For instance, a defiant Assembly could decide not to pay the governor's salary. It could also decide not to vote for more tax collectors, increase the size of the militia (local army), or increase the governor's expense account. The two primary sources below describe complaints governors and Assemblies had about each other.



Massachusetts State House

Governor Shute's Complaints. With few if any friends in the colony, a newly appointed governor often found much to complain about. Consider the case of poor Governor Shute, who wrote the following in 1723 to people at home:

> When I got to Massachusetts Bay (colony) I learned that elections for the Massachusetts House of Representatives (their name for the Assembly) are held every year. Their House, I also found out, has greater powers than the House of Commons in England. They nominate the Council, and they set the salary of the governor for six months, rather than a full year. They also fix the salary for the Treasurer. This gives the Representatives control over that important office because they can scare the Treasurer from obeying my orders for paying money.
>
> The above gives the House of Representatives the Executive power in many cases in addition to the Legislative.
>
> Recently three persons I vetoed for the Council have been elected to the House of Representatives. This has happened so often that it's said the best Representatives are those the governor kept out of the Council.
>
> So you can see that House of Representatives has for some years past been taking away the few rights of government remaining to the King.[1]

A Colonial Legislature Has the Blues. Colonial governors were not always at a great disadvantage. Remember that they could veto colonial laws, control the Council, and get support of the British navy and army. Sometimes it was the governors who won their battles with the Assemblies. Here the Virginia Assembly explained why it wasn't at all happy with Governor Nicholson:

> To speak of the governor's injustices, insults, and rudeness would take a whole book. We will just talk about the way he acts with the General Assembly.

Nicholson calls too many meetings at the wrong time of year which costs us plenty. He has been entirely outrageous and nasty with the Upper House (Council). For instance:

- He has taken to conducting the meetings and not letting us debate the issues.
- He threatens all who disagree with him.
- He plays the Council and the Assembly off against each other, sometimes siding with the Council and other times with the Assembly.

He meets privately with members and uses threats and rewards to make them do what he wants done.[2]

U.S. Government Today. The U.S. government today has the same three branches. The legislative branch is Congress. Like Parliament, Congress has two houses. The "upper" house, the Senate, is now elected by the people, although its members were appointed by the state legislatures for more than 100 years. The "lower" house is called the House of Representatives.

The chief executive in the United States is the president. The president carries out the laws. He/she can appoint officials to the government, but the Senate has to approve choices for important jobs. The president can pardon people found guilty of a crime and can veto laws passed by Congress. He or she cannot dismiss Congress, declare war, or spend money without Congressional approval. The president can be elected to only two terms.

The judicial branch of government is made up of a complex system of courts. The highest court is the Supreme Court. U.S. courts have the power of judicial review.

Chapter Questions

1. Define or identify and tell the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
   - the three branches of government
   - the Commons and Lords
   - Assembly and Council
   - House and Senate
   - chief executive in Great Britain
   - chief executive in U.S.
   - two things the king can do that a U.S. president can't
   - governor
   - judicial review
   - patronage
   - Governor Shute
   - Governor Nicholson
2. Write a paragraph explaining the jobs of the three branches of government. The first sentence should read:

   "Each of the three branches of government has a different purpose. The job of the..."

3. Based on what you know of England and the colonies, where was there more democracy: in England under the king, Lords, and Commons, or in the colonies under a British governor, a Council and Assembly? Give reasons to support your answer.

Sources

1. Excerpted and adapted from *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, by Cecil Headlam et al. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1934), pp. 324-330.

2. Excerpted and adapted from "A Memorial Concerning the Maladministrations of His Excellency Francis Nicholson, Esq.," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography III (1895-1896)*, pp. 373-382.

CHAPTER 4: THE COLONIES UNDER MERCANTILE TRADE LAWS

In the 17th and 18th centuries, Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland were all building empires in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. These countries – especially Great Britain, Spain, and France – fought many battles over land claims in these areas. Their purpose in these battles was to increase their country's wealth and power. They believed that gold and silver would be found in the colonies, so having colonies would make them rich and powerful. This was part of a philosophy called mercantilism. In this chapter, you will learn more about mercantilism and will discover what Great Britain did when no gold and silver were found in its North American colonies.

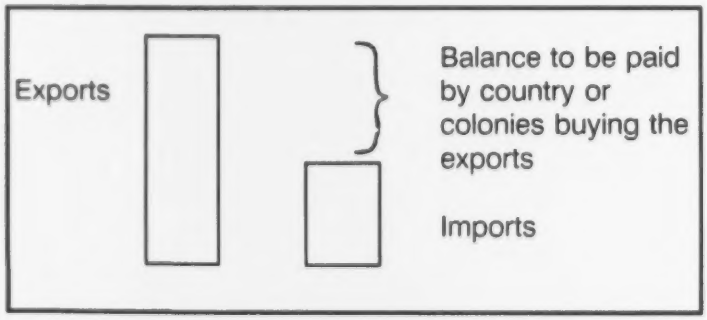
Mercantilism

People who believed in mercantilism, called mercantilists, thought a country could be rich only if it had gold, silver, and other precious metals. They saw Spain take over large cities built by the Incas and Aztecs in South and Central America. They saw Spanish ships sail home with thousands of pounds of gold and silver aboard. They saw Spain build up its navy as it was expanding its empire. Mercantilists – kings, merchants, shipbuilders, soldiers – wanted the same for their own countries.

Thousands of Englishmen, French, and Dutch left their own countries to find gold and silver in North America. Their governments helped them because the riches they found would help the mother country. Unlike the Spanish, these people found no beautiful cities, with kings and rich treasures of gold and other precious metals. What they did find, however, were beautiful wooded forests with deer, bears, raccoons, beavers, and hundreds of other animals. They found lobsters so plentiful that they were washed ashore with every tide. They found cod and bluefish, tuna, bass, trout, and other fish by the millions. And they found land, unspoiled land, meadows, and fertile forests to farm, trees with which to build, swiftly running streams to bring water and turn wheels to grind grains. In short, the wealth in North America was not gold and silver – it was the land itself, the animals in its forests, and the fish in its rivers and oceans.

Since no gold or silver was found in North America, mercantilists thought up another way of getting it. They said you could get gold and silver from your colonies by having a favorable balance of trade with them. A country has a favorable balance of trade when it exports (sells) more to another country or colony than it imports (buys) from it. This is not as difficult as it may sound at first. When the United States exports wheat to Japan, it sells. When the United States imports cars from Japan, it buys. If the cars are worth more than the wheat, the United States has paid out more than it took in. That is an unfavorable balance of trade.

Study the chart below. As you can see, the difference between exports and imports must be paid; in colonial times, it had to be paid in gold. The trick for nations like Great Britain was to make sure they sold more to the colonies than they bought from them. That way, Britain would have a favorable balance of trade and the gold to go with it.



Laws to Achieve a Favorable Balance of Trade

To make certain they would have a favorable balance, countries like Great Britain and France passed laws to control trade with their colonies. These laws made sure that the colonists would trade only with the mother country. The idea behind these laws was simple. The colony would produce things the mother nation needed, such as wood to make into furniture and iron to make pots, pans, knives, and guns. The colony would have to buy the manufactured goods the mother country produced, such as iron pots, guns, and furniture. Thus, the colonies could not develop their own industries. They would have to trade their raw materials for manufactured goods. The manufactured goods would be produced in the mother country and sold back to the colonies for a large profit. Thus, the mother country would become ever-more rich and powerful at the expense of its colonies.

Four kinds of mercantile laws to help the mother country increase its wealth were passed in England. Each is described briefly below.

Laws Restricting Imports (Buying). England did not want its colonies to trade with any other country, so Parliament passed the Staples Act in 1663. This law and others like it restricted what colonists could buy from any other country. The colonists were only allowed to buy goods, like tea from India and wine from France, that actually passed through England. Here goods would be unloaded and put on docks. Taxes would then be paid so the goods could be reloaded on other ships for sale in the colonies. The extra money that cost was paid by the colonists, with gold or silver!

Laws Restricting Exports (Selling). England wanted to be sure that its colonies would sell goods only to the mother country. Parliament therefore passed the Navigation Act of 1651. This law listed certain goods the colonists could sell only to the British. These goods included sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, ginger, indigo (dye), rice, molasses, naval stores, furs, and iron. To make sure that naval stores (things used in building and repairing ships such as tar pitch and masts) would be sent to England, the British paid a "bounty," an especially high price.

Laws Restricting Shipping. England wanted to make money by trading with its colonies. Therefore, all of the ships trading with the colonies had to be made by or owned by members of the British Empire. Since the colonists were members of the British Empire, this law did not hurt them.

Laws Restricting Manufacturing. England did not want her colonies to compete with her in manufacturing. England would therefore not allow the colonists to manufacture certain items. Laws required that goods made from wool (1699), made into hats (1732), and made from iron (1750) had to be sold to England or to someone in the colony where it was made. They could not be sold to other countries, or even to other colonies.

Chapter Questions (Part 1)

1. Define or identify and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
    - mercantilism
    - two mercantile countries
    - exports
    - imports
    - favorable balance of trade
    - gold and silver
    - restricted imports
    - restricted exports
    - restrictions on shipping
    - two laws restricting manufacturing

Value of Exports to England and Imports from England

Year	Exports	Imports	Balance of Trade
1700	£395,000*	£ 344,300	+ £50,700
1710	249,800	293,700	
1720	468,200	319,700	
1730	572,600	536,900	+ £35,700
1740	718,400	813,400	
1750	814,800	1,313,100	
1760	761,100	2,611,800	– 1,850,700
1770	1,015,500	1,925,600	
1774	1,373,846	2,596,400	
1776	103,100	55,400	

*Note: numbers have been rounded off

2. Using the table on page 77, give the value of exports to and imports from England in 1710, 1740, and 1770. Then calculate the balance of trade for those years.

The Effects of the Mercantile Laws on the Colonies

Some historians see the mercantile laws as one of the main reasons for the American Revolution. Others say these laws played only a minor part. To examine this issue, we must ask: did the laws really hurt the colonists? Did they make the British very rich at the colonists' expense? Were the colonists treated so badly by these laws that they were justified in rebelling? Or were the colonists not much affected by these laws? Were the colonists like spoiled children, complaining even though they really were treated very well? Read the following and think about it!

Mercantilism and the New England Colonies. The New England colonies included Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire (Vermont was then a part of New York, and Maine was part of Massachusetts). Farming the rocky soil of Massachusetts and Connecticut was not easy. Therefore, New Englanders had to learn many different trades to support themselves. For instance, they went into shipbuilding, building one-third of the ships used in the trade with England. Boston was a lively center of trade, the largest port in the British Empire outside of England. New Englanders dipped their nets into the waters of the Atlantic and became well known for cod and other fish, which they sold in Europe. They also manufactured shoes, candles, coaches, and leather goods. These goods were sold in Europe without the British giving them any problems. Furthermore, Great Britain wanted the tall spruce trees in New Hampshire for masts of His Majesty's (the king's) Navy. They even paid extra money to the colonists who brought these to market.

New Englanders also played their part in the famous triangular trade. Rum was made by distillers, mainly in Rhode Island. The rum was then sent to Africa. Along with guns, it was sold to slave traders (usually Europeans) in exchange for black men, women, and children. The Africans were then taken to the West Indies. Here the slaves were exchanged (traded for) molasses and for gold. The molasses was taken to Rhode Island, where it was made into rum for the slavers to take to Africa. The gold was then used to buy manufactured goods, such as furniture and coaches, from England with whom the colonists had an *unfavorable balance of trade*.

New Englanders had some problems with Great Britain's mercantile laws. But they simply smuggled forbidden goods under the noses of British officials, or they bribed these officials to look the other way as illegal cargo was taken into the harbors of Boston, Providence, and other towns. As long as the British more or less winked at this lawbreaking, the New England colonies prospered.

Mercantilism and the Middle Colonies. The middle colonies consisted of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Their main goods for trade were cereals (wheat, oats, and rye), flour, and lumber. These goods were shipped to Europe legally. They never appeared on the British list of what could be sold only to the mother country. The gold the middle colonies earned by trading this way was used to buy furniture and other manufactured items from England.

The passage of the Iron Act in 1750 had an effect on the middle colonies, mainly Pennsylvania. It hurt a growing industry by forbidding the sale of iron pots, nails, and guns, etc. outside of the colony where they were manufactured.

Mercantilism and the Southern Colonies. The southern colonies included Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. They had the most to lose from the mercantile laws. Rice, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and naval stores were all on the restricted list. These goods were produced in the South and could be sold only to England. These items, particularly tobacco, were then reshipped to other countries. Because they were the only ones allowed to buy these goods from the colonies, British merchants bought cheap and sold high. They made a large part of the profits denied the southern planters. Some planters, like George Washington, got so disgusted with this practice that they stopped growing tobacco and planted wheat instead. Other planters could have done the same thing, but most didn't.

The southern colonies were also hurt by the mercantile laws because they did none of their own manufacturing. Therefore clothes, furniture, dishes, guns, and other goods could be bought only from England. Many southern planters had to borrow money from their agents in England. They were deeply in debt by the time the Revolution began.

Chapter Questions (Part 2)

1. Define or identify and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
    - the three regions
    - New England colonies
    - rocky soil
    - triangular trade
    - middle colonies
    - grain and lumber
    - Iron Act of 1750
    - southern colonies
    - restricted list
    - George Washington
    - agents
2. Explain how each of the four groups of mercantile laws helped Great Britain achieve a favorable balance of trade with its American colonies.
3. Prepare to argue either for or against the proposition that the mercantile laws hurt the colonies.

CHAPTER 5: THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

As you know, England was not the only country interested in land in what now is North and South America. As a matter of fact, Christopher Columbus was sailing for the king and queen of Spain when he reached America. By the time the British started their first colony in Jamestown, Virginia, the Spanish had been in the New World for more than 100 years, and the French were preparing to settle in Quebec.

In this chapter you will learn how the French and Spanish settled in the New World to the north, west, and south of the British colonies. You will also find out how the French and British came to fight what we now call the French and Indian War.

New Spain

After Columbus, who sailed for the king and queen of Spain, Spanish explorers led in discovering the New World. A Spaniard named Vasco Balboa crossed what today is Panama, becoming the first European to see the Pacific Ocean. Coronado, another Spaniard, explored what is now the southwestern United States. Ferdinand Magellan led a sailing expedition that eventually made its way around the world (although Magellan himself was killed in the Philippines).

The Spanish were not only great explorers; they also were ruthless conquerors. Perhaps they are best known for their conquest of two very advanced Indian civilizations in America. The Aztecs of Mexico were conquered by Hernando Cortes in 1519. Francisco Pizarro conquered the Incas of Peru in 1535. Each conquest brought huge treasures of silver and gold to Spain. Each conquest also increased the appetite of these Europeans for even more splendid riches. Other Spanish expeditions covered thousands of miles in the New World, searching for more cities of gold. Englishmen and Frenchmen soon joined the race for great riches in America – but there were no more rich empires to conquer and plunder.

Meanwhile, however, Spain had set up its own magnificent empire. They founded cities such as Mexico City, Lima, and St. Augustine. They brought the first printing press to the New World almost 80 years before Jamestown was founded. They established universities in Lima and Mexico City in 1551, long before the first English colonists arrived. Thousands of Spanish came to live in the New World. Some forced Indians to work in the mines and extract more gold. Others set up huge plantations and forced hundreds of thousands of slaves to work for them. After working their Indian captives to death in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, the Spanish brought Africans to slave in the fields. Meanwhile, Spanish priests expanded their missionaries and brought their Christian God and Spanish language to hundreds of thousands of the native Indians.

By 1580, the Spanish Empire in the New World had reached its height. Eight years later, the Spanish fleet (called the Armada) was destroyed attacking Great Britain. Spanish power never fully recovered from that disaster, and began an abrupt decline that lasted hundreds of years. At the time of the American Revolution, however, the Spanish still held Florida, the Mississippi River, New Orleans, and the western part of our country as far north as Canada.

New France

The French were drawn to the New World in part by Spain's success in finding great treasures of silver and gold. In their explorations of North America, however, the French found no cities with precious metals. Nor did they find a passage to India. The actual settlements formed by the French began in 1608, the year that Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec. Further west on the St. Lawrence River, the French founded Montreal. Next to the Spanish, the French Empire was small and poor. It was not an empire of conquest but an empire of trade with the Indians.

For every 20 Englishmen who came to settle in America, there was but one Frenchman. And the chances were he would be off in some shady forest glen trapping for furs. Few Frenchmen settled

along the St. Lawrence River, which did not provide farmers with a long growing season. Indeed, the French who settled in what we now call Canada became rich in trading for fur with the Indians.

The Frenchmen who made their living in the fur trade were called *coureurs de bois* (runners of the woods). In the spring they made their way by canoe down the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, and then up the little rivers and streams that ran into them. Here they set their traps and hunted in the summer and fall. In the winter they lived among the Indians, with whom they traded for more skins. When spring came again, they headed back north – for Montreal and Quebec. This was the time to sell their furs to traders who would take them back to France. For several weeks, furs of all sorts would be traded for blankets, guns, powder and bullets, beads or other trinkets, and liquor. After much socializing, drinking, and trading, the *coureurs de bois* and Indians would pack their goods and head back to the wilderness to stock up on animal skins once again.

Competing Claims with English Settlers

Year after year this cycle of trapping, hunting, and trading was repeated in New France. As the supply of animals gradually decreased, the *coureurs de bois* traveled farther south in search of furs. In the meantime, English colonists were pushing in from the Atlantic seacoast. They were chopping down trees and driving wild animals west. As the French pushed south and the English colonists pushed south, they began to compete for land around the Ohio River. The same land could not be used for hunting and for farming. Something had to give!

France and England had been enemies for more than 60 years. They competed with each other for power in Europe. They fought for colonies in Asia as well as America.

The British and French had differences that made it hard for them to get along. They had different religions. The British were Protestants, the French were Catholics. Their governments were also very different. The French kept very tight control over their colonies; the British allowed a great deal of self-government, as you have seen. The competition between England and France had already caused three wars. Each of the three had started in Europe and spread to America. Here these wars not only started later, but were known by different names:

Wars in Europe and America

Names and Dates in Europe	Names and Dates in America
The War of the League of Augsburg 1688-89	King William's War 1989-97
The War of the Spanish Succession 1701-1713	Queen Anne's War 1702-13
The War of the Austrian Succession 1740-48	King George's War 1744-48
The Seven Years War 1756-1763	The French & Indian War 1754-63

As you can see, all but the French and Indian War seemed to start in Europe and spread to America. The French and Indian War began in America in 1754 and in Europe two years later. The British claimed that the French and Indian War started when George Washington, who had been ordered to tell the French to leave western Pennsylvania and Ohio because they belonged to Great Britain, fired at the French. The colonists claimed it started because England and France were fighting

over land in western Pennsylvania. Your job will be to decide not only who started it, but who stood to gain the most from it.

Instructions for George Washington

At the age of 21, George Washington had already made a name for himself. He had become a surveyor, which got him to the western part of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He personally knew the value of these lands for future settlers. He had even participated with others in beginning a large business called the Ohio Company. This company was made up of wealthy colonists and Englishmen. They wanted to own the land in western Pennsylvania and Ohio so they could sell it at a large profit. Using their influence with King George II, members of the company got a grant of 200,000 acres, in 1749. This was enough land to make many people very rich. But the king had a good reason to give the Ohio Company the 200,000 acres. He wanted to encourage settlers to move west to increase the size, wealth, and power of the British Empire.

Unfortunately, the king of France believed that he owned the very lands that the Ohio Company had been granted. He wanted to make this claim clear to the English. Therefore the king sent hundreds of French Canadians and their Indian allies to build forts along the Ohio, the Allegheny, and other rivers flowing through the woodlands and meadows where the *coureurs de bois* had trapped for furs.

It so happened that one of Washington's partners in the Ohio Company was Robert Dinwiddie, acting governor of Virginia. He had been told by the king's agents to stop the French from building their forts on British land. Dinwiddie went to the Virginia legislature (the House of Burgesses) to get the money needed to arm and supply 200 men. And he appointed George Washington, lieutenant colonel in the Virginia militia, to lead them.

Washington's orders were to:

> prevent the French building any Forts or making any Settlements, to send immediately out 200 men to protect those already sent by the Ohio Company to build a Fort, and to resist any attempts on them.[1]

The French and Indian War Begins

Washington was not under orders to shoot French soldiers or their Indian allies. After all, England and France were not at war. Yet Washington did open fire on the French because, he said, he had been told the French were waiting in ambush for him. The account that follows is taken from Washington's diary, which was found by the French and translated into their language. The original was lost, so the French had to be translated back into English. We do not know if the French changed the diary to make their side look better.

> About 8 in the evening, Half King (an Indian ally of the English) joined us and said he had seen tracks of men along the road. He followed the tracks to a hidden spot. He believed that the whole party of the French were hidden there. I sent out 40 men to attack them....We had advanced pretty near them when they discovered us. I ordered my company to fire. The action lasted for 15 minutes before they ran away. We killed Mr. de Jummoville, the Commander, and nine others, and took 21 prisoners.
>
> The prisoners told me their orders were to tell me to go home, and not attack. But, I believe that this was just an excuse. A pretty bad excuse to find out how many men we had and how they were armed. Instead of coming openly as messengers, they snuck into hidden retreats more like in an ambush.[2]

Washington Defeated

This small battle started the French and Indian War. Soon afterwards, Washington sent his prisoners back to Virginia. Expecting an attack by the French, Washington ordered his men to build a fort. He called it Ft. Necessity.

The expected attack by the French came on July 3, 1754. The battle continued for an entire day. The French were able to shoot down from trees and hilltops into the fort. With no chance of winning, Washington finally surrendered. Fortunately for America, the French allowed him to take his men back to Virginia.

The long retreat began on July 4th. Without supply wagons or horses, Washington's men had to carry the wounded on their backs. This was a discouraging time for young George Washington. His mission had been a complete failure: he had started a war; he had not only been defeated in battle, he had been taken prisoner; and he left the French in control of the western lands.

General Braddock

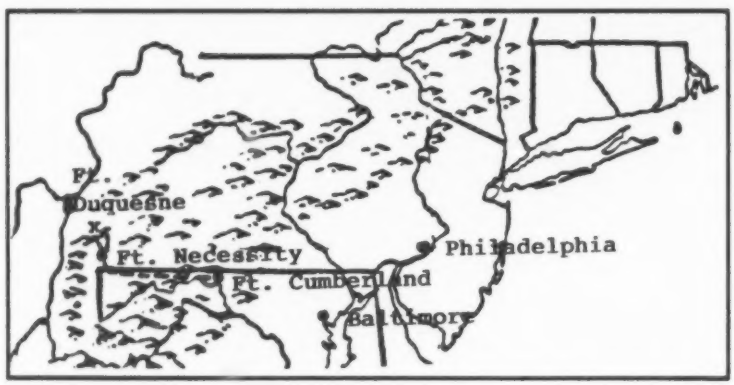
The British never thought that the colonists could become good soldiers. News of Washington's defeat convinced the British that they would have to fight the colonists' war for them. So they sent General Braddock with 1,500 of the king's soldiers to Virginia. Braddock shared the views of his countrymen and refused to listen to advice from colonists. He should have listened to the colonists who knew more than he about fighting in the forests and rivers of the frontier.

Braddock's March

Key

x Site of Braddock's Defeat

- - -> Braddock's March



Braddock stubbornly marched his entire army toward Ft. Duquesne (now Pittsburgh). He traveled with horses pulling wagons and cannon through hundreds of miles of wilderness with barely a road. His thin column of soldiers stretched out on narrow trails for four miles. When he was but ten miles from his goal, shots and war whoops rang out in the forests. It was the French and their Indian allies. The battle that followed was over almost before it began. The British soldiers had not been trained to take cover behind trees. Their officers were easy targets atop their horses.

Seeing their friends and comrades fall to the ground by the dozens, British soldiers did what they almost never did. They panicked. Some cut horses from the wagons and rode them out. Others simply fled into the woods, where they stood no chance against the enemy. Braddock himself barely lived to see the end of that night; he died two days later. The massacre would have been worse if George Washington and the Virginian troops under his command had not saved the day. He turned a rout into a dignified retreat. Nevertheless, the British losses were frightful – about 1,000 killed and wounded and all their supplies, including cannon, guns, and powder.

The War Spreads

After Braddock's defeat, the Indians felt free to attack pioneer settlements all over the west. Few survived. The French and their Indian allies also attacked the string of English forts along the frontier. They took English forts at Lakes Oswego, Ontario, Champlain, and George.

In 1756, fighting began in Europe. England formed an alliance with Frederick the Great, king of Prussia. Prussia attacked Austria, France's ally in Europe. With the British supplying the money and Prussia the soldiers, King Frederick was able to hold off combined attacks from Russia, Austria, and France. This made it possible for England to pay close attention to her colonies in North America and to the French in Canada.

Prime Minister Pitt Takes Command

In 1758, William Pitt became prime minister of Great Britain. Under his commanding genius, the British poured men and supplies into America. Pitt strengthened the British army. He appointed smart, young officers over the heads of older, but less able soldiers. In 1758, one of the young commanders captured Louisbourg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. The next year, Pitt's main target was Quebec, Canada's capital!

At the age of 31, James Wolfe was not only the youngest but also the best general in the British army. However, he had only 4,000 British soldiers under his command. He also had a number of colonists, whom he considered useless. Wolfe, who had trained his soldiers to fire their muskets with the aim of sharpshooters, tried twice to attack Quebec. He was driven back both times. His plan to lure the French away from their fort also failed. He planned to try once more by climbing the cliffs of the St. Lawrence River at night to surprise the French at daybreak. If he made it, France would lose the war and all of Canada. If Wolfe was discovered too soon, his army could be destroyed.

In the next chapter, you will find out how the French and Indian War ended and how it created as many problems for the "winner" as it solved.

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
    - Balboa
    - Magellan
    - Aztecs and Incas
    - Mexico City and Lima
    - three characteristics of the Spanish Empire
    - the Armada
    - New France
    - Samuel de Champlain
    - *coureurs de bois*
    - lands around the Ohio River
    - Ohio Company
    - Robert Dinwiddie
    - Washington's instructions
    - relations between France and Great Britain
    - ambush

- Ft. Necessity
- General Braddock
- Ft. Duquesne
- William Pitt
- General Wolfe

2. List all the reasons the French and the English in the New World could not get along.

3. Review George Washington's role in starting the French and Indian war. Do you think he was justified in attacking the French? Do you think Washington was representing colonial interests or was he acting as an agent for England? Explain your answers.

4. Was the French and Indian War a colonial war or a British war? In your answer, consider as many of the following as you can:
   - the idea of mercantilism.
   - previous wars between France and Great Britain as well as previous conflicts between the French and British colonists.
   - what the colonists had to gain from the French and Indian War.
   - the Ohio Company grant.
   - Washington's instructions and how the fighting began.
   - whether Washington was acting for England or for the colonists when he went out to warn the French to leave.
   - whether you believe the diary written by Washington was accurately translated into French and then back into English.
   - whether the colonists did their share of the fighting.

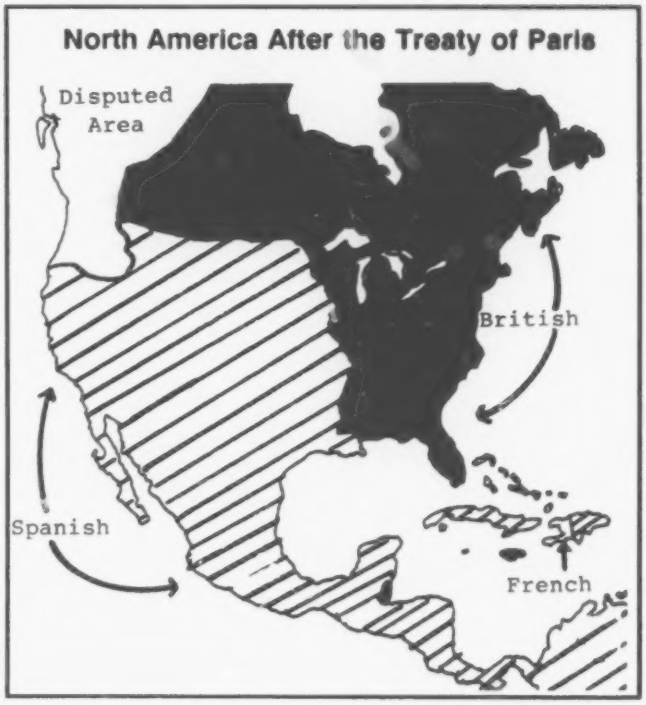
Sources

1. Adapted from *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1883), pp. 48-49.

2. Adapted from *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-99*, John Fitzpatrick, ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1925). Used by permission.

CHAPTER 6: THE PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE

General James Wolfe led his small but hardy band of soldiers up the steep cliffs. Having reached the French capital of Canada, he captured it the next day, September 13, 1759. The victory at Quebec was just one of many stunning British successes that year. They also won battles in Europe, the West Indies, and Asia. By 1763, the French were thoroughly defeated. They were now ready to discuss peace.



In the Treaty of Paris, France surrendered its claims to Canada and most of India. England now owned all of North America north and east of the Mississippi.

The colonists rejoiced at this victory. It seemed to open all of the lands east of the Mississippi to them.

Despite the joy on both sides of the Atlantic, major problems lay ahead. What was to be done with the lands taken from France? Were the British going to enforce the trade laws the colonists were breaking every day? Finally, how was England to pay for the nine years of fighting? This chapter challenges you to find answers to these problems. Maybe you can do better than the King and his advisors did!

The Problem of Western Lands

In the Ohio River Valley, Chief Pontiac was worried. The defeat of his French allies, he feared, would mean his tribal lands would soon be overrun by settlers. They would chop down trees and drive away the animals on which the Indians depended. Pontiac decided to fight the invaders while he still might win. He therefore gathered the tribes of the Ohio Valley under his leadership and attacked the British forts in the west. Soon every British outpost but Pittsburgh and Detroit had fallen. Hundreds of pioneers were killed, and the survivors had to flee.

Pontiac's warriors were finally defeated, but not by the colonists. British redcoats were used to crush the Indians.

After their troops defeated Pontiac, British leaders began to believe that the colonists could not defend themselves. British commanders in America suggested permanent forts along the Ohio Valley, Great Lakes, and Mississippi River. They thought these forts would defend colonists from the French, the Spanish, and the Indians.

British policymakers also began to plan for the development of the Ohio Valley and other western territories. They were faced with several problems. Several groups wanted this valuable territory and the right to sell these lands at a great profit. Furthermore, some lands had to be set aside for hunting and trapping. Finally, the claims of various Indian tribes who had signed treaties with Great Britain had to be honored.

The following solutions were considered:

- Stationing several regiments of British troops in the colonies to defend the west against the French and Indians.
- Temporarily closing western lands until sound plans for their future could be made.
- Allowing settlers to move west at their own risk, without defending them against the Indians.

The Problem of Trade Regulations

For more than 100 years, the colonists had been expected to obey the mercantile trade laws with England. In fact, they frequently broke these laws. During the French and Indian War, colonial merchants actually smuggled goods past British ships trying to blockade French ports in the West Indies. Indeed, smuggling had become an accepted method of doing business in the colonies. Many colonial fortunes, including John Hancock's, were earned at the expense of British trade regulations. Many of the most beautiful homes on Boston's fashionable Beacon Hill were owned by smugglers. The British estimated that some £700,000 worth of goods entered the colonies illegally every year.

One of the great difficulties in preventing smuggling was the British customs service. It cost some £8,000 to run every year, but only collected £2,000. Its officials were both corrupt and inefficient. They often accepted bribes for themselves rather than collect money for their king. The customs service lacked the necessary manpower to cover the thousands of miles of coastline. Even if a smuggler were caught, he was entitled to a trial before a jury of colonists, who did not consider smuggling a crime and usually returned a verdict of not guilty.

The following solutions were considered:

- Passing strong laws to enforce existing trade regulations. Laws suggested were doing away with jury trials for people accused of smuggling and allowing people's homes and businesses to be inspected without a warrant.
- Repealing all trade laws.
- Allowing smuggling to continue.

The Problem of Finances

Officials in London believed that 10,000 soldiers would be needed to defend western lands against the Spanish, French, and Indians. The yearly cost of supplying and paying these troops would be £300,000. The British felt the colonists should pay part of the cost of their own defense.

Britain's major money problem was caused by the French and Indian War, which increased the nation's debt from £70,000,000 to £140,000,000. The total colonial debt was less than the interest the British had to pay. Their total tax was up to 20 times less than that of people living in England, yet the British government had paid the colonists some £275,000 for their expenses during the war. Attempts to tax cider in England had resulted in riots. British taxpayers thought it was about time that the colonists paid their fair share to the British Empire.

The colonists had always been against paying taxes. They had often refused to vote to pay for men and materials during the French and Indian War. They had rejected a system that would have required each colony to pay a fair share. They opposed paying taxes to England because they were not represented in Parliament. They saw taxation by Parliament as a threat to the authority of their colonial legislatures. Colonists were also opposed to sending representatives, because they would be outvoted in Parliament. The colonists enjoyed a higher standard of living than people living in England but thought the English should pay most of the taxes.

The following solutions were considered:

- Increasing taxes paid by people living in England.

- Putting taxes on articles of everyday use, similar to a tax already in effect in England.
- Having the colonists pay the same amount in taxes as the people living in England.

The new British prime minister's name was George Grenville. He was a no-nonsense businessman, eager to restore England's finances. Historians have accused him of being more concerned with balancing a budget than saving an empire – but the problems he faced were real.

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
   - James Wolfe
   - Treaty of Paris
   - Chief Pontiac
   - permanent forts
   - problems related to western lands
   - trade laws
   - colonial attitudes toward smuggling
   - war debts
   - taxes in England compared to taxes in colonies
   - cider riots
   - standard of living in the colonies
2. Working in a small group, discuss each of the problems the British government faced after the French and Indian War. Select one of the solutions considered at the time and write a brief statement explaining why your group thinks it is the best solution of the three. In order to complete this assignment, you may need to divide your group into three subcommittees, with each subcommittee focusing on one problem. The subcommittees can then report to the group for discussion before a final decision is reached.
3. Compare the solutions arrived at by your class with the actions British policymakers took (see page 90). Were the British actions reasonable? Do they seem to show a desire to take away the colonists' rights?

Actual British Responses to Problems Following the French and Indian War

Western Lands

1. The Proclamation of 1763 temporarily prevented American colonists from legally settling west of the Appalachian Mountains. They also could not buy the land there. All colonists who had already crossed were ordered to return. All land sales in that area were canceled. Only Indians would be permitted to live in these regions while the British decided on a permanent policy.

2. The British decided to station 10,000 soldiers in North America to protect the colonists from attacks by Spain, France, or Indian tribes. The annual cost was estimated at £300,000. These soldiers were never actually sent to North America.

3. According to the Quartering Act of 1765, the colonists had to support troops stationed in America by supplying living quarters, candles, and rum. This act was never enforced.

Trade Regulations

1. The Writs of Assistance (1761) gave customs agents the right to search for smuggled goods in private homes without first getting a search warrant.

2. The Sugar Act of 1764 reduced the tax on molasses from 6 to 3 pence per gallon. The British hoped to make smuggling less profitable and collect more money.

3. The British navy was given the authority to try cases involving trade regulations. Thus, colonists accused of smuggling would be tried before a British naval officer rather than a colonial jury. The judge was entitled to 5 percent of the ship's cargo if the accused was convicted.

4. The navy was ordered to aid customs service in enforcing trade regulations.

Taxation

1. The Sugar Act of 1764 lowered the tax on molasses coming from the French West Indies, but the purpose of this law was changed from guiding or directing trade to raising money.

2. The Stamp Act of 1765, which was patterned after a similar law in England, placed taxes on legal documents, newspapers, almanacs, dice, and playing cards. It was supposed to raise about £100,000 each year (one-third the cost of stationing troops in America).

CHAPTER 7: THE STAMP ACT AND VIRTUAL REPRESENTATION

In 1765, the British Parliament decided the time had come for the colonists to pay taxes. It therefore passed a law called the Stamp Act. This law required colonists to pay for stamps that were attached to many of the things they used every day. For instance, a newspaper would have a 3-pence stamp on it, which colonists had to buy to get the paper. Dice, playing cards, diplomas, law degrees, and much more also called for the purchase of stamps. In each case, the customer had to pay for the stamp. The British expected to raise enough money to pay one-third the cost of stationing the 10,000 British soldiers in the colonies.

This chapter presents the background of the Stamp Act, along with the arguments for and against this tax. It asks you to form your own opinion about who had the best argument on this important issue – the British or the colonists.

Background of the Stamp Act

People in England had been paying for stamps in a similar manner for many years, but colonists opposed the tax for many reasons. It was the first time the colonists were asked to pay a direct tax for the purpose of raising money. Previous taxes had been to regulate trade. Besides, the colonists did not think they needed all those soldiers stationed in the colonies. Worse yet, this tax allowed the British government to take their money without their saying anything about it (the colonists had no representatives in the British Parliament). Finally, if this tax were collected, a terrible precedent (example to be followed) would be set. Taxes could then be collected on everything. Pretty soon, the argument went, the colonists would be paying all the taxes and the British would not be paying any. "NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!" therefore became the colonists' slogan and rallying cry.

The British refused to accept the colonists' arguments. The people of England, they said, paid 26 times more in taxes than the colonists. Yet the colonists were wealthier than the British and actually could afford to pay higher taxes. Furthermore, many English people were not represented in Parliament, yet they paid taxes. Some simply did not own the property required of voters. Others lived in cities such as Manchester and Leeds, which sent no representatives to Parliament. Every member of the British Parliament was supposed to represent not only his own district, but the entire nation. This was called *virtual representation*. Why, the British asked, if virtual representation was good enough for the people living in Manchester, shouldn't it serve for the people living in Boston?

The colonists objected to the principle of virtual representation. They said there was no way someone in England could represent anyone in America. They opposed the stamp tax – but, they could not suggest another way for England to raise more money.

The Stamp Act was passed in March 1765. It was scheduled to take effect the following November. It stated that stamps had to be bought and attached to a large number of items used in everyday life – almost anything made of paper. The amounts for various items ranged from 1/2 pence to £10 (about $50 to $2300 in today's dollars). Some examples are listed below:

- Any declaration or pleading in court – 3 pence
- A university, college, or other degree – £2
- A license to practice law in court – £10
- A bill of lading for goods exported – 4 pence
- A pack of playing cards – 1 shilling
- Every newspaper or pamphlet printed – 1/2 pence

*20 shillings = £1; 12 pence = 1 shilling.

Arguments for and Against the Stamp Act

Below are arguments for and against the Stamp Act. The arguments for the Stamp Act were taken from writings by Soame Jenyns, a member of Parliament. The arguments against the Stamp Act were taken from the writings of Daniel Dulany, a lawyer from Maryland.

For the Stamp Act[1]

The major argument used by the colonists, which, like a cotter pin, holds their entire case together, is that no Englishman is or can be taxed without his consent or agreement. I will prove this argument wrong and thereby collapse their whole case.

When the colonists say that no one can be taxed without their consent, they must mean one of three things:

1. He cannot be taxed without his consent as an individual;

2. He cannot be taxed without the consent of the people he chooses to represent him; or,

3. He cannot be taxed unless the majority of the people who are elected to represent him agree to the tax.

I will show that all three of these arguments or ideas are false.

First, it is obviously not true that no Englishman can be taxed unless he, as an individual, agrees. This is really the very reverse of the truth, for what man in his right mind wants to be taxed?

Second, that no Englishman can be taxed except by the consent of the people who represent him is also false. To prove this, we must only look at the cider riots in England of this past year, where English farmers revolted against paying taxes.

Third, the argument that no Englishman can be taxed unless the majority of people elected by him agree is also false. Every Englishman is taxed, but only one in 20 can vote. Those under 21 are taxed, and they don't vote. Englishmen who don't own property are taxed, and they don't vote. Manchester, Birmingham, and many of our most prosperous towns send no members to Parliament, but are they not Englishmen? And don't they pay taxes?

Against the Stamp Act[2]

The English argue that they can tax us because they tax other Englishmen who cannot send representatives to Parliament. I shall prove that argument is false. The *virtual representation* argument is like a spider web – it will catch the weak but not the strong.

The Englishmen who are taxed but do not vote in Parliament may become voters. A man in England who has no property may acquire property. An Englishman who cannot vote because he lives in Birmingham or in Manchester can move to London. Furthermore, the Englishman who cannot vote is not that different from the Englishman who can vote. His interests are the same. He has friends, relations, and neighbors who can vote. They can represent his interests.

But there is no close connection between the Englishmen who live in England and those who live in the colonies. England is an island, 3,000 miles from the colonies, a continent. Not a single voter in England might be hurt by a tax that he chooses to put on the colonies. Once he has learned that he can shift the burden of some of his taxes onto the colonies, he can shift the burden of all of his taxes onto them. He can therefore make the colonies pay the entire cost of the English government, without hurting any friend, relative, or neighbor.

Much is made of the argument that the colonies enjoy the protection of the British navy and army. But, aren't we already paying for this through the mercantilistic laws? We are not protesting these laws. We are merely saying that we already pay a good deal to England by controls on our trade, manufacturing, and shipping. These are indirect taxes that we are paying. But we cannot allow England to lay a direct tax on us.

For the Stamp Act[1]

It has been said that those in England who do not vote are represented by people like them who actually do vote. A merchant in Manchester is represented by merchants in London who can vote. This is known as the principle of *virtual representation*. If virtual representation works for England, why can it not work for the colonists? If the idea of virtual representation can travel 300 miles between Birmingham and London, why can it not travel 3,000 miles between London and Boston?

Why should the colonies demand rights that other Englishmen don't have? Aren't the colonists Englishmen? Don't they enjoy the protection of the British navy and army?

I cannot understand why the colonists are making such a fuss. I see no reason why the colonists should be excused from paying the Stamp Act tax, which is really much lower than the taxes those same colonists would have to pay if they lived in England.

Against the Stamp Act[2]

England may have protected us during the French and Indian War; however, they fought the war for their own good, not ours. It was they who wanted land in order to get more gold and silver. Why should we pay for the kind of protection that we did not even want?

Finally, the argument that we are asking for rights that Englishmen don't have is very weak. If they do not have the right of not being taxed without representation, they should have that right. We are not only asking for rights of other Englishmen. We are asking for God-given, unalienable rights. We are demanding the right to protect our property from unfair taxation.

NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each item in your group's list:

Against the Stamp Act	Undecided or Neutral	For the Stamp Act
• spider web	• Stamp Act	• Soame Jenyns
• can vote	• newspapers and dice	• no one can be taxed without their consent
• shift the burden	• regulate trade	• Birmingham
• mercantilistic laws	• no taxation without representation	• 300 and 3,000 miles
• God-given rights	• virtual representation	• protection by British

2. Briefly explain three reasons why the colonists should pay taxes.

   or

   Briefly explain three arguments against the Stamp Act.

3. Write a short essay either for or against the Stamp Act. Be sure your essay has a thesis, foreshadows the points presented in the main body, and has a concise, well-stated conclusion.

Sources

1. Based on *Miscellaneous Pieces in Verse and Prose*, by Soame Jenyns (London: 1770), pp. 421-426.
2. Based on *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament*, by Daniel Dulany (London: 1766), pp. 4ff.

CHAPTER 8: METHODS OF PROTEST

Do we have the right to say the leaders of our country are insane and should be put away? Or to say that all those who disagree with us are enemies of the country? Some people might not believe we have those rights, yet Patrick Henry said such things in order to protest the Stamp Act.

Do we have the right to tear down the offices of government officials we do not like? Most people today probably do not believe we have that right – yet that is what an angry Boston mob did to protest the Stamp Act.

Do we have the right to cut off trade with another part of the country, simply because we do not agree with its plans or laws? Undoubtedly, many would say no, but that is what merchants in Boston and New York did in order to protest the Stamp Act.

Times of great crisis call for strong actions. Many of the means used to protest the Stamp Act in 1765 would not be considered right today. Your job in this chapter is to decide just what forms of protest were justified.

May 1765: Patrick Henry and the Virginia Resolves

Patrick Henry was the newest and youngest member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. When on May 29, 1765, George Johnson rose to suggest that the Burgesses "consider" the Stamp Act, Henry quickly seconded the motion. Older delegates were shocked – how dare Virginia consider a law that Parliament had already passed? George Wyeth reminded the Burgesses that "it is our duty to humbly and silently accept the decisions of Parliament." Henry, however, thought otherwise:

> Gentlemen, the Stamp Act has been forced upon us by a "sick" king – I understand in Williamsburg it is considered ill-mannered to refer to King George's fits of insanity in plain words – but the Stamp Act is, in my humble opinion, illegal, unconstitutional and unjust.[1]

With that, Patrick Henry offered the stunned delegates a series of seven resolutions, which said:

- The first settlers of this country brought with them all the privileges and rights that have at any time been enjoyed by the people of Great Britain.
- These rights were guaranteed by two royal charters that applied to the colonists as well as the English.
- The right of self-taxation is a most important characteristic of British freedom.
- Virginians had the right to be governed by laws to which they had consented.
- The Assembly of Virginia had the sole right and power to tax Virginians. Any attempt to surrender this power would destroy British as well as American freedom.
- That the people of Virginia were not bound to obey any law except those passed by their General Assembly.
- That any person who disagreed or spoke otherwise should be thought of as an enemy of the colony.

The first five resolutions passed; the next day, however, the Burgesses reversed themselves on the fifth one. Yet all seven appeared in most colonial papers. Thus, Virginia's actions seemed a more radical challenge to England's authority than they actually were.

Before the debate on the resolutions ended, Patrick Henry reputedly threatened the King's life by alluding to Brutus and Cromwell, assassins of Julius Caesar and King Charles I.

August 1765: Riots in Boston

The Virginia Resolutions inspired people all over America to question England's right to rule the colonies. In Boston, Sam Adams and John Hancock organized a group later known as the Sons of Liberty. They often stirred up crowds to protest English laws. The crowds frequently became mobs, which sometimes destroyed private property. In the case quoted below, the crowd's anger was directed at Andrew Oliver, who, it was rumored, had agreed to sell the hated stamps. The actions of the crowd were reported by Lt. Governor Francis Bernard:

> It now grew dark when the Mob, which had been gathering all the afternoon, went to a new building lately built by Mr. Oliver to let out for shops and not quite finished. This they called the Stamp Office and pulled it down to the ground in two minutes. Then they attacked Mr. Oliver's house. The Mob broke down the whole fence of the garden and beat in all the doors and windows. As soon as they got possession of the house, they searched for Mr. Oliver, declaring they would kill him.
>
> After the destruction of Mr. Oliver's house, the principal people of the Town publicly admitted to and justified the act. Members of the Mob had used this opportunity to take out their private grudges against people in high office.[2]

October 1765: The Stamp Act Congress

In the spring of 1765, the Massachusetts Assembly called for a meeting representing all of the colonies. The purpose of this meeting would be to discuss the Stamp Act and decide what should be done. Nine colonies sent delegates. Only one colony actually refused to send delegates; the others could not because the royal governors would not call the assemblies together. The Stamp Act Congress, as it was called, met in New York City in October 1765. After much writing and debate, it agreed upon a number of resolutions, including the following:

- It is the right of Englishmen that no taxes be imposed upon them without their consent.
- The people of the colonies cannot be represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain.
- It is the duty of these colonies to try to obtain the repeal of the Stamp Act.

November 1765: Boycott of British Goods

In New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other seaport towns, merchants agreed to stop doing business with England until the Stamp Act was repealed. In New York, this agreement was made the day before the Stamp Act was to be enforced. The agreement was signed by 200 merchants. It said, in part:

> We, retailers of goods, do hearby promise and oblige ourselves not to buy any goods, wares, or merchandises of any person or persons whatsoever that shall be shipped by Great Britain after the first day of January next until the Stamp Act shall be repealed.[3]

March 1766: Repeal of the Stamp Act and Passage of the Declaratory Act

Great Britain repealed the Stamp Act in March 1766. However, at the same time, Parliament reaffirmed its sovereignty – right to rule – over the colonies in the Declaratory Act. This act stated:

> The King and Parliament had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws strong enough to bind the colonies and peoples of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.[4]

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
   - Patrick Henry

- George Wyeth
- Virginia Resolves
- Brutus and Cromwell
- Sons of Liberty
- Andrew Oliver
- Stamp Act Congress
- resolves of Stamp Act Congress
- boycott
- Declaratory Act

2. In your estimation, which of the following actions were justified?
   - Patrick Henry calling the king insane and saying that England had no right to make any laws for the colonies.
   - The mob tearing down Andrew Oliver's office and house.
   - The Stamp Act Congress meeting without England's permission, passing resolutions against the Stamp Act, and urging all colonies to work for its repeal.
   - Merchants in New York stopping all trade with England regardless of financial losses until the Stamp Act was repealed.
3. Write a paragraph supporting your opinion on one of these protests. The first sentence in your essay should present your thesis; it may foreshadow the ideas you will present in the main body. The second, third, and fourth sentences should present evidence supporting your thesis. In writing your essay, you should consider:
   - Whether the principle (P) for which the colonists were fighting was good.
   - Whether alternate (A) – less violent or less inflammatory – means could have accomplished the same goals.
   - Whether the protests accomplished the desired results (R).

   This is not an easy assignment. Do your best, and do not be discouraged.

Sources

1. Adapted from *Patrick Henry: Firebrand of the Revolution*, by Nardi Reed Campin (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 1961).
2. Adapted from *The Road to Independence* by John Braeman (New York: Capricorn Brooks), pp. 94-95.
3. Adapted from *The Road to Independence*, p. 102.
4. Adapted from *The Road to Independence*, pp. 121-122.

CHAPTER 9: THE BOSTON MASSACRE

What words are used today when people are angry with the police? When British soldiers were the police back in the 1760s, the word was "lobsterback." The soldiers stationed in Boston were the hated symbols of British power. Schoolboys threw rocks at them. Upstanding citizens called them names. Bartenders refused to serve them, and the best people in town avoided their company.

The abused British soldiers stationed in the colonies were supposed to prevent mob violence, such as occurred in the Stamp Act riots. Some were housed in public buildings. Others camped on the Boston Common. Colonists, who had long feared the presence of a standing army, hated these soldiers. They looked at them as an occupying army, sent to take away colonial freedom.

The British soldiers often deserved the abuses they suffered. They were perhaps the dirtiest and most foul-mouthed people in England. Men with education or opportunity became officers or avoided military service altogether. Badly mannered and poorly schooled, the troops spent most of their free time drinking and fighting. Their officers worried that Britain's army would be lost completely to the "demon rum." The soldiers bothered decent Bostonians in the streets during the day and fought with them in the taverns at night. For 18 months they bothered the citizens of Massachusetts. In turn, they suffered constant abuse. It was only a matter of time before someone would really get hurt.

The long-expected incident occurred on a March evening in 1770. It is known to history as the "Boston Massacre." The "Massacre" raised issues of the right of citizens to challenge authority or the police and the right of the authorities or the police to maintain order.

The Brawl at the Ropewalk

Fighting first started between townspeople and troops on March 2, three days before the massacre. An off-duty soldier, Private Patrick Walker, was looking for work; British soldiers were paid very poorly. Walker's search brought him to John Gray's Ropewalk, where other soldiers had picked up jobs at odd hours. Ropemaker William Green spotted Private Walker and asked him whether he wanted to work.

"Yes, I do, faith," the soldier replied, and was told he could empty the public toilet.

"Empty it yourself."

More words followed, and, getting the worse of the argument, Walker swung wildly at Green. Nicholas Ferriter, another employee, joined the battle and knocked the off-duty soldier down. The sword he carried beneath his coat fell to the floor. Walker fled to get help. He returned a few minutes later with Private William Warren and seven or eight other soldiers. A larger group of ropemakers came to beat them back. Within 15 minutes, nearly 40 soldiers were on the scene. Another fight began, and both Sam Gray (a colonist) and Mat Kilroy (a soldier) stood out in the battle. The brawl ended with the British again driven to cover. Smaller fights occurred over the next two days. Just three days after the incident at the Ropewalk, Gray would be dead, with a British bullet through his head fired by Mathew Kilroy.

The Battle Over the Barber's Bill

Only a quarter moon lit Boston's streets on the chilly but pleasant evening of March 5, 1770. A single sentry, Private Hugh White, paced before the Customs House on King Street. Edward Garrick, a teenage boy and wigmaker's apprentice, came by. He spied Lt. Goldfinch and accused Goldfinch of owing his master money. Goldfinch was carrying the receipt in his pocket and ignored the accusation. Garrick, however, would not leave him alone. The apprentice kept stopping passers-by, telling them that Goldfinch was cheap and would not pay his bills. Garrick's antics annoyed Private White, who said his officer was a gentleman who always paid what he owed.

"Let me see your face," White challenged Garrick. The young lad replied that he was not afraid to show his face and approached Private White. Without another word, the soldier slammed his musket down on the side of the boy's head.

Garrick screamed with pain and ran away. Several of his friends remained, yelling insults at the soldier. The church bell now began to toll the alarm for a fire. Men started to shout and pour into the street. Most came with sticks and stones instead of fire buckets. The crowd around Hugh White quickly increased to 50 and the shouts were now accompanied with snowballs. White was plainly scared. He retreated to the Customs House steps and loaded his rifle. The crowd picked up chunks of ice and threw them at the sentry.

Private White Gets Reinforcements

More colonists poured into the streets. Aware of the danger, Captain Preston selected seven men to come to White's aid. The seven included Privates Kilroy, Montgomery, and Warren. With fixed bayonets but unloaded muskets, they pushed their way through the heavy crowd toward the Customs House. The crowd parted to let the soldiers pass, closing in immediately behind them. Upon reaching the Customs House, the soldiers loaded their rifles with double shot. They then formed a semi-circle with their backs to the Customs House, to protect it and guard their rear. Preston stood in front of his men, facing the crowd. By this time, the mob numbered over 300. It pressed upon the soldiers; the more daring colonists rapped the musket barrels with their clubs. Believing the soldiers could not shoot unless ordered by a civilian, the crowd dared them to fire.

In the midst of this confusion, a club was thrown from somewhere within the crowd. It hit Private Montgomery and knocked him to the ground. Montgomery rose to his feet in pain and anger, raised his weapon, and pulled the trigger. No one seemed to be hit. Richard Palmes, a colonist, until that moment had been acting as a peacemaker. Now he swung his club at the soldier and struck him in the arm. Palmes slipped as he aimed the next blow at Captain Preston's head. Instead he struck the captain's shoulder. Another colonist, attacking with a stick, was forced to retreat with bayonet wounds in the arm and chest.

Death on King Street

The shot, however, had scared off many of the colonists and left the center of the British line fairly clear. There was a pause, lasting somewhere between six seconds and two minutes.

During the quiet that followed Montgomery's shot, Private Kilroy raised his musket. He pointed it in the direction of Sam Gray and Edward Langford, both colonists.

"God damn you, don't fire," Langford yelled.

But Kilroy squeezed the trigger without appearing to aim. Gray with his hands in his pockets fell dead at Langford's feet. John Hickling ran up and felt a hole in Gray's head as big as a man's fist. Two more shots rang out and Crispus Attucks, a former slave, fell dead with two bullets in his chest. Then someone in the crowd suggested moving in on the soldiers to stop their firing. More shots! Struck by two bullets, a sailor named James Caldwell died instantly. Patrick Carr and Samuel Maverick fell, dying. Altogether five colonists were killed that night, and six others were wounded.

Governor Hutchinson Promises Justice

The British stood with loaded muskets as stunned colonists returned to pick up their dead and wounded. Preston, however, ordered his men not to fire, and further trouble was avoided that night.

Later that evening, a huge crowd listened as Governor Hutchinson addressed them. He was standing on the Town House balcony, facing King Street. The governor advised the crowd to go home peacefully. He promised there would be a trial – "the law shall have its course; I will live and die by the law." As the governor returned to the council chambers, someone else took over the balcony and told

the crowd to remain until the soldiers returned to their barracks. The crowd dispersed only after the troops were finally marched back to their quarters. Despite the governor's promise, few colonists believed the guilty soldiers would be brought to trial.

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
    - lobsterback
    - Private Walker
    - Nicholas Ferriter
    - Hugh White and Ed Garrick
    - Captain Preston
    - Hugh Montgomery
    - six seconds to two minutes
    - Richard Palmes
    - Sam Gray and Mathew Kilroy
    - Ed Langford

- Governor Hutchinson

2. Describe each of the following scenes:
   - the brawl at the Ropewalk
   - the battle over the barber's bill
   - the firing of the fatal shot
3. Explain the significance of the pause following Montgomery's shot, both for the defense of the soldiers and the prosecution.

Sources

Account based on *The Boston Massacre*, by Hiller D. Zobel (New York: W.W. Norton), pp. 182-204.

CHAPTER 10: KENT STATE AND RECURRING HISTORY

The colonists believed "what happened yesterday will come to pass again" because "the same causes will produce like effects in all ages." Two hundred years and two months after the Boston Massacre, a similar event did take place. This one involved armed soldiers and angry protesters. This time the dead were four students from Kent State University. The accused were members of a National Guard unit sent to keep order during anti-war demonstrations. These two events, so widely separated in time, raise the question: does history repeat itself?

The Background

The Kent State incident was not triggered by protests against British laws made in London. It started as a protest against American foreign policy made in Washington. Soldiers from the United States had been fighting and dying in Vietnam for more than six years. Although most Americans once supported the war, a growing number wanted it ended immediately. In 1968, anti-war protesters attempted to influence the Democratic Convention in Chicago but they were not successful. The convention nominated Hubert Humphrey, who supported the war, for president. He was defeated in the election that fall by Richard Nixon.

Nixon ran on a platform of winding down the war and negotiating an honorable peace, but two years after he took office, the war still raged. In the spring of 1970, the president ordered American troops to attack enemy positions across the Vietnam border in Cambodia. This seemed to be expanding rather than ending the war. The protests on college campuses throughout the country were strong, angry, and violent.

Opposition at Kent State

On Friday evening, May 1, 1970, students stormed out of the bars on Water Street in Kent, Ohio. They were protesting the invasion of Cambodia. They set a bonfire in the street and smashed windows in banks and expensive stores. Kent's mayor ordered local police to put down the riots with tear gas. The following day, all bars and theaters in town were closed by order of the mayor. Students were told to stay on campus. Saturday night, an angry mob of students threw stones and flares at the campus Army Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) building until it burst into flames. When fire fighters arrived, student demonstrators cut their hoses, making it impossible to put out the fire. The mob finally broke up after the ROTC building burned to the ground.

The following day, May 3, Ohio Governor James Rhodes flew into town. He called the demonstrators the "worst type that we have in America." The governor then prohibited all campus rallies until order was restored. He threatened to keep the National Guard on duty for a year if necessary.

May 4

The ban on campus rallies was still in effect the next day, but many students had decided to break it. A protest rally was called for noon. The signal was the ringing of the bell, usually used to celebrate football victories. As demonstrators gathered for the assembly, they were joined by students on their way to classes. Many did not know that the rally violated the governor's orders.

Armed with rifles, submachine guns, and pistols, National Guardsmen began to push the students back. The guardsmen were outnumbered 20 to 1. They moved from the burned-out ROTC building, blaring warnings through bullhorns for the mob to scatter. It is unlikely that they were heard over the curses shouted at them. Soon the guardsmen were firing cans of tear gas at the crowd, some 200 yards ahead of them. As the soldiers advanced, they were met with rocks, bricks, bottles, and concrete. They continued their advance, herding demonstrators in front of them. The more daring among the crowd picked up the tear gas canisters and threw them at the troops. Guardsmen claimed they were hit frequently and feared for their lives. Witnesses say that the missiles fell short of their mark. Only two soldiers were hurt. One had a badly burned arm. The other collapsed from heat exhaustion.

One company advanced to the left of the Victory Bell. It pushed the mob back to the parking lot by Taylor Hall (see diagram). About 74 men from another company marched straight up Blanket Hill, herding demonstrators away from the football field. They stopped by a chain fence along the field but continued to take abuse from the demonstrators. The guardsmen were then ordered back to Taylor Hall.

As the guardsmen retreated, they formed a long "V" wedge with their officers in the center. As they were marching back, a small knot of soldiers on the right suddenly stopped, turned around to where the students were gathered in the parking lot, and pointed their weapons at them. A single shot rang out, followed by a two-second pause. Then came a volley of more than 50 shots, another pause, and two more shots. The entire volley lasted 13 seconds; 28 guardsmen fired their guns.

The Dead

Few students believed that the guardsmen carried loaded weapons. "They're firing blanks," one student said to another. But bullets whined and rebounded over the campus, and the shrieks of the wounded and dying filled the air. It was clear that the guns were loaded with live ammunition.

"My God! My God! They're killing us," thought Ron Steels, a freshman from Buffalo. He was right. Four students were killed; ten others were injured, one paralyzed for life. The dead were:

- Allison Krause, 19, who had been standing with her boyfriend some 343 feet from the guardsmen.
- William Shroeder, 19, a ROTC member and psychology major who had been standing 382 feet away. He had been watching because he was "curious."
- Sandy Sheur, a girl of 20, who had been looking for a lost dog, 390 feet away from the guardsmen.
- Jeffrey Glenn Miller, 273 feet away, who had promised his mother the night before that he would stay away from any trouble.

The guardsmen turned and marched away. The closest of their 14 victims lay bleeding, 71 feet from the spot where the firings originated.

No good explanation has been given for why the soldiers chose this moment to fire. Some claim the soldiers were in great danger. Others say that they were ordered to fire. Still others claim that the soldiers had planned the volley (conspired together) and others that the first shot triggered the volley.

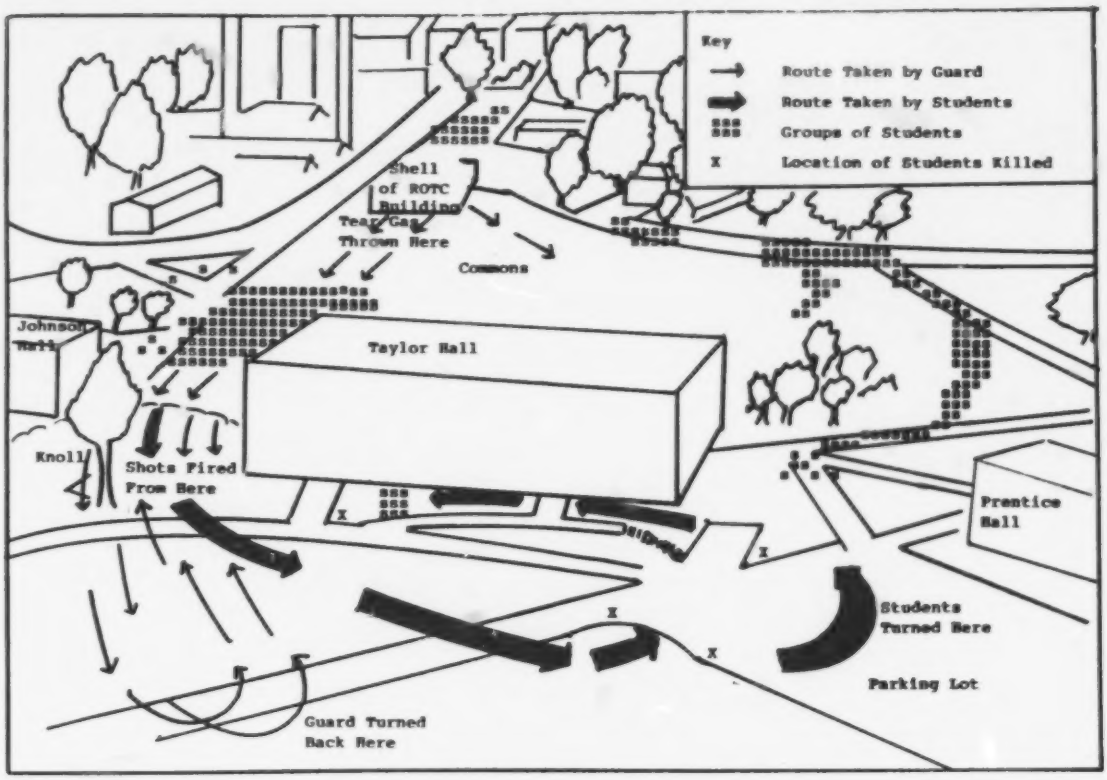
Conflicting Views of the Killings

The commander of the guardsmen, Brigadier General Canterbury, defended the actions of his men:

> A crowd of about 600 students had surrounded a unit of about 100 guardsmen on three sides and were throwing rocks at the troops. Some of the rocks were the size of baseballs. The troops ran out of tear gas.
>
> I think the reason the people fired is because they were being assaulted with rocks and concrete. When you get to the ultimate, you cannot deny a man the right to use a weapon if he feels his life was threatened.[1]

A Kent housewife wrote the following in a letter printed in a local paper:

> I stand behind the actions of the National Guard. Authority, law and order are the backbone of our society for its protection. And if dissenters refuse to obey the final warning before the punishment...then let the first slap be a mighty sting. Hooray! I shout for God and country, recourse to justice under law...fife, drums, parades, ice cream cones – America, support it or leave it.[2]



The wife of one of the guardsmen who fired at the students told a reporter:

> They didn't go to Kent State to kill anyone. I know he'd rather have stayed home and mowed the lawn. He told me so. He told me they didn't fire those shots to scare the students off. He told me they fired some shots because they knew the students were coming after them, coming for their guns. He was afraid.[3]

The father of one of the victims, Allison Krause, spoke out shortly after the death of his daughter:

> She resented being called a bum because she disagreed with someone else's opinion. She felt that our crossing into Cambodia was wrong. Is this dissent such a crime? Is this a reason for killing her? Have we come to such a state in this country that a young girl has to be shot because she disagrees deeply with the actions of her government?[4]

Aftermath

After the shootings, classes were canceled for the remainder of the year. A state grand jury in Ohio failed to find sufficient evidence to indict the Ohio guardsmen.

President Nixon had promised an immediate federal investigation of the tragedy, but it wasn't until four years later that the guardsmen were served with federal indictments. The government was unable to prove its charge that the guardsmen had conspired to deny the victims their civil rights. Judge Frank Battista dismissed the charges, saying that federal prosecutors had not proved the intentions of the defendants. He added that the defendants may or may not have been justified in firing their weapons, but there was no evidence of a conspiracy. He said a number of things might have led to the shootings – fear, a desire to halt the rock throwing, general confusion, or orders from superior officers.

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly show the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
    - History repeats itself
    - Cambodia
    - ROTC building
    - James Rhodes
    - ban on campus rallies
    - victory bell
    - small knot of soldiers
    - 50 shots
    - reasons guardsmen fired
    - Sandy Sheur
    - General Canterbury
    - Kent housewife
    - Mr. Krause
2. Carefully describe the events immediately preceding the firing.
3. Do you think that the guardsmen were justified in firing their weapons? Why or why not?
4. Write a short essay explaining whether you believe the guardsmen or the British soldiers were more justified in their actions. Be sure your essay has a thesis, foreshadows at least two arguments, and provides evidence to support those arguments.

Sources

1. Adapted from *New York Times* (May 5, 1970) p. 17 and (May 6, 1970) p. 19.
2. Adapted from *Kent State: What Happened and Why!*, by James A. Michener (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 25.
3. Adapted from *Newsweek* (May 18, 1970).
4. Adapted from *Kent State: What Happened and Why!*, by James A. Michener (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 433.

CHAPTER 11: THE TEA PARTY AND THE INTOLERABLE ACTS

In 1773, it seemed like a reasonable law. By giving the East India Company a monopoly on tea sold to the colonies, the Tea Act would allow the East India Company to sell off its huge surplus. Because some duties were removed, tea would be cheaper for the colonists. By ending the colonial boycott, Britain would be able to collect its one and only tax on the colonies.

The colonists, however, believed there was a principle involved. They were in no mood to be reasonable. They insisted that the tea be returned to England. When the British refused, 342 chests of tea were dumped into Boston Harbor. Parliament got angry and closed the harbor until money was raised to pay for the tea. Instead of collecting money, Massachusetts, with support from the other colonies, collected weapons. This seemingly reasonable law, therefore, became a cause of the American Revolution.

Were the colonists justified in destroying the property of the East India Tea Company? Did the British have the right to punish the entire colony for the action of the 150 Bostonians who destroyed the tea? These are the important questions raised in this chapter.

Taxes on the Colonists

As you know, the Stamp Act was passed in 1765 and was repealed in 1766, before a single stamp was sold. The Townshend Acts were passed in 1767. It taxed certain goods imported into the colonies, such as glass, paint, and tea. The colonists protested that tax and in 1770, the British repealed the Townshend Acts, except for one tax—a tax on tea. After 1770, that was the only tax the British asked the colonists to pay. But the colonists did not want to pay that tax either.

To show they did not want to pay taxes, the colonists refused to drink the tea imported from England. They either drank no tea at all, or they drank tea brought in illegally from Holland. The smuggled tea was cheaper because the British East India Company was not allowed to sell directly to the colonies. Under the rules laid down by the Navigation Acts in 1651, the company was required to ship its goods to England, where they were sold at auctions. American and British merchants bought the tea in England and then shipped it to the colonies. The tax, extra handling charges, and profits for several middlemen made the legal tea more expensive than the illegal tea.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The boycott on its tea hurt the East India Company. Soon, the company was close to going out of business. Some 17,000,000 pounds of tea lay rotting in its warehouses. The British government wanted to protect this huge corporation, in part because many members of Parliament who owned stock in the company could lose a fortune. Parliament therefore passed the Tea Act in 1773. This act gave the East India Company a monopoly on tea sold in the colonies. It, and it alone, was permitted to import tea directly from India without first having to go through England. The Act was intended to accomplish three purposes:

- To save the East India Company from bankruptcy (going broke).
- To get the colonists in the habit of paying taxes.
- To stop smuggling.

Opposition to the Tea Act

The Tea Act united two groups in the colonies that had not always worked together. One of these groups was the merchants and middlemen who opposed the monopoly granted the East India Company. After all, if one company could be granted a monopoly on tea, couldn't another company get a monopoly on iron goods? The other group was the Patriots who opposed paying taxes to England on the basis of principles. The Sons of Liberty organized and spread the opposition to the Tea Act. In Philadelphia they issued the following resolutions:

- There can be no property which another can, of right, take from us without our consent; the claim of Parliament to tax America is a claim to raise our taxes whenever the British want more money.
- The purpose for which this tax is asked will make our Assemblies (legislatures) useless and cause dictatorship and slavery.
- Opposition to this plan of governing America is absolutely necessary to maintain even the shadow of liberty in America. It is a duty every free man owes to his country.[1]

The Tea Party

Opposition to the Tea Act was so great that the British never unloaded any of their tea in America. In most cases, the British simply backed down and ordered the tea back to England. This was not the case in Boston, where Governor Hutchinson swore he would enforce the Tea Act. On November 27, 1773, the *Dartmouth* arrived in Boston Harbor with its cargo of tea. It remained peacefully at anchor for weeks, while Hutchinson rejected all pleas to return the tea. His plan was to unload the ship and store the tea in a warehouse, wait for the opposition to die down, and then sell the cheaper tea to colonists who valued their money more than their principles.

It soon became clear that the governor would not back down. Sam Adams and his Sons of Liberty now decided to take matters into their own hands. After a mass meeting on December 16, they put their plan into effect:

> Just before the end of the protest meeting, a number of brave men dressed as Indians came to the door. They gave a war-whoop, which rang through the house. It was soon answered by some in the galleries. The Indians ran to the wharf, where the ships lay that had the tea on board. They were followed by hundreds of people to see the event. The Indians immediately boarded Captain Hall's ship, where they raised out the chests of tea. Next, they opened them up and emptied the tea overboard. Having cleared this ship, they went to the others. Within three hours they broke up 342 chests and emptied their contents into the sea. There was great care taken to prevent the tea from being stolen by the people. Such attention to private property was observed that even a small lock being broken was quickly replaced.[2]

The tea, along with the ships in which it was sent, was destroyed in New Jersey and Maryland.

The Intolerable Acts

Even the colonists' friends in England were shocked by the destruction of £18,000 worth of property. They saw it as a most unprovoked insult. The British could not understand why the colonists refused to buy tea cheaper than any sold in England. The issue, according to the British, was no longer taxation and representation. The issue was whether England had any authority in the colonies. In order to teach Massachusetts and Boston a lesson, Parliament passed the so-called Intolerable (unbearable) Acts.

1. On June 1, 1774, the port of Boston will be closed to all shipping until payment is made for the destroyed tea.

2. The Governor of Massachusetts, and not the Assembly, will from now on appoint all judges to the colony's courts.

3. Only one town meeting may be held in each town per year, and only for the purpose of electing town officials.

4. British officials accused of crimes in the colonies will be brought to trial in England.

To carry out these new laws, Thomas Hutchinson was replaced as governor of Massachusetts by General Thomas Gage. The colonists responded by arming and drilling their local militias (troops). Other colonies sent aid and pledges of support to Massachusetts.

With an angry and self-righteous Britain on one side, and a defiant and rebellious colony on the other, the stage was set for further conflict. A small incident could spark a general war.

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly explain the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
   - Townshend Acts
   - Tea tax
   - East India Tea Company
   - Tea Act
   - purpose of the Tea Act
   - Sons of Liberty
   - two major arguments against the Tea Act
   - Thomas Hutchinson
   - Tea Party
   - Intolerable Acts
   - Thomas Gage
2. Your teacher will assign you to write an essay arguing why the Boston Tea Party or the Intolerable Acts were or were not justified. Be sure that your essay includes all the parts you have been learning about in this unit. Your essay should also cover the following:
   - The principle (P) behind the action you are writing about.
   - Whether alternative (A) methods or means could have been used to achieve that purpose.
   - Whether the action accomplished the desired result (R).

Sources

1. Adapted from *The Road to Independence*, by John Braemen (New York: Capricorn Books), pp. 191-192.

2. Adapted from "Tea Party Anniversary," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* XII (1975), pp. 171-172. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

CHAPTER 12: THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

The British had thought the Intolerable Acts would "teach the colonists a lesson they would never forget." But these laws did just the opposite. They united the colonists against Great Britain. In September of 1774, all 13 colonies sent delegates to meet in Philadelphia. This meeting is known as the First Continental Congress.

The Continental Congress made three important decisions:

- It called for a total boycott of British goods.
- It told the colonists to prepare for a "defensive" war.
- It wrote a series of statements declaring the colonists' rights.

Preparing for War

Following Congress's suggestion, Patriots in every colony began to arm themselves. They oiled guns, made ammunition, and practiced shooting. The leaders in Boston, where the trouble started, were Sam Adams and John Hancock.

Meanwhile, General Gage took the place of Thomas Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts and brought the hated British soldiers back into Boston. One of Gage's officers, Major John Pitcairn, called for "one active campaign, and the burning of a town or two to put everything to rights."

On the night of April 18, 1775, Major Pitcairn got his "active campaign." He was ordered to take 700 men to destroy the colonists' military supplies in Concord. On his way through Lexington, he was told to capture John Hancock and Sam Adams. That night, Paul Revere set out on his famous ride to warn the colonists that the British were coming.

The Battle of Lexington Green

Early in the morning of April 19, Captain John Parker stood before his hastily gathered militia, waiting for the British soldiers. Parker stationed his 70 men on the village green along the road to Concord. About 6:00 a.m., the British appeared in the morning mist. They formed seemingly endless rows of soldiers before the outnumbered colonists. Major Pitcairn shouted for the colonists to disperse.

Then a shot was fired – or was it two? Without waiting for orders, the British opened fire. The air rang with the screams of the injured and the moans of the dying. John Harrington dragged himself to the front porch of his house by the Green, where he died in his wife's arms. Seven other militia men were killed, and ten were injured. Two British soldiers and the major's horse suffered slight wounds.

Pitcairn finally regained control of his troops and marched them to Concord. At the same time, Sam Adams was making his escape from Lexington. Hearing the firing, he supposedly cheered, "Oh, what a glorious morning it is!"

Who fired the first shot? Eyewitnesses on each side claimed it was the other. The conflicting stories you will be reading give very different interpretations, and it will be your job to play detective and solve this mystery.

Two Commanders' Accounts

Six days after the battle, Captain Parker of the colonial militia gave the following report in sworn testimony.

> I, John Parker, commander of the Militia in Lexington, do testify and declare that on the nineteenth in the morning about one o'clock, I ordered our Militia to meet on the common in said Lexington. We decided not to be discovered, nor meddle or make

with said Regular Troops unless they should insult us. Upon their sudden approach, I immediately ordered our Militia to disperse and not to fire. Immediately, said troops made their appearance, and rushed wildly, fired upon and killed eight of our party, without receiving any provocation therefore from us.[1]

Major Pitcairn presented his story of the battle to President Stiles of Yale. Although the account was written down by Stiles, it represents Pitcairn's version of the event.

> His [Pitcairn's] account is this – that riding up to them [the colonists] he ordered them to disperse. When they didn't, he turned around to order his troops so to surround and disarm them. As he turned he saw a gun in a peasant's hand from behind a wall, flash in the pan without going off. Instantly or very soon two or three guns went off by which he found his horse wounded. These guns he did not see, but believing they could not come from his own people doubted not and so said that they came from our people [the colonists]; and that thus they began the attack. The anger of the King's troops were such that an uncommanded, but general, fire took place. Pitcairn could not prevent it, tho' he struck his staff or sword downwards with all earnestness as a signal to cease firing.[2]

Accounts by Soldiers

A member of the colonial militia testified as follows:

> I, Thomas Fessenden, of lawful age, testify and declare, that I saw three officers on horseback advance to the front of said Regulars [British troops]. When one of them being within six rods (100 feet) of the Militia, cried out, "Disperse, you rebels, immediately." Next he waved his sword over his head three times. Meanwhile, the second officer fired a pistol pointed at the Militia and the Regulars kept shouting. He pointed at the Militia, and immediately the British fired a volley at us. Then I ran off as fast as I could, while they continued firing. I further testify, that as soon as ever the officer cried "Disperse, you rebels," the Company of Militia dispersed and while they were dispersing the Regulars kept firing at them.[3]

The following account came from the personal diary of a British officer, Lieutenant John Barker:

> We learned there were some hundreds of people collected together intending to oppose us and stop our going on. At five o'clock we arrived there, and saw a number of People, I believe between 200 and 300, formed in a Common in the middle of the Town. We still continued advancing keeping prepared against an attack tho' without intending to attack them. On our coming near them they fired one or two shots. Then our men without any orders, rushed in upon them, fired, and put 'em to flight....[4]

Accounts by Historians

In a history of the reign of George III, an English historian and schoolmaster included the following version of the battle:

> These companies about five in the morning reached Lexington, where they saw a body of militia assembled on a green near the road. When the British troops approached, the Americans were questioned for what purpose they had met. They were ordered to disperse; on which the colonists immediately retired in confusion. Several guns were then fired upon the King's soldiers from a stone wall and also from the meeting house. One man was wounded, and a horse shot under Major Pitcairn. Our soldiers returned the fire, killed some of the peasants, wounded others, and dispersed the rest. The British officers who were present gave the account. General Gage reported this in his letters to the government, that the Americans fired first; on the

> testimony of several respectable gentlemen of unimpeached character [having a reputation for honesty] this assertion rests.[5]

One of the great American historians of the 19th century, George Bancroft, provides the following description, published in 1858:

> Pitcairn rode in front, and when within five or six rods (90 feet) of the minute men, cried out, "Disperse, ye villains, ye rebels, disperse." The main part of the countrymen stood motionless in the ranks, witness against aggression. They were too few to resist, too brave to fly. At this Pitcairn discharged a pistol, and with a loud voice cried, "Fire." The order was instantly followed, first by a few guns, which did no harm, and then by a heavy, close, and deadly discharge of guns.
>
> In the difference of numbers, the common was a field of murder, not of battle; Parker, therefore, ordered his men to disperse. Then, and not till then, did a few of them, on their own impulse, return the British fire. These random shots of fugitives or dying men did no harm, except that Pitcairn's horse was perhaps grazed, and a private was slightly touched in the leg.
>
> Seven of the men of Lexington were killed; nine wounded; a quarter part of those who stood in arms on the green. These are the village heroes, who were more than of noble blood, proving by their spirit that they were of a race divine.[6]

Aftermath

The colonists' version of the battle was quickly sent to Concord. The British troops marched into the town and destroyed the few military supplies left. When they attempted to cross North Bridge over the Concord River, they ran into armed resistance. Here the "shot heard round the world," made famous by Ralph Waldo Emerson's poem, was fired. Here, also, the first British soldiers were killed.

As the king's troops retreated to Boston, they ran into one ambush after another. Colonists appeared from behind houses, trees, and stone walls to fire at the British. They killed or wounded 272 of the enemy. When the British finally dragged themselves back to Boston, they found the city under siege, with nearly 20,000 colonists surrounding Boston.

On April 18, England had ruled the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. On April 20, the British were practically prisoners in its capital. Although independence was not formally declared for another 15 months, the American Revolution had begun.

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly explain the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
   - First Continental Congress
   - Major Pitcairn
   - number of British and colonial soldiers at Lexington
   - the number of killed and wounded on each side
   - John Harrington
   - Sam Adams
   - what happened at North Bridge
   - what happened to the British on their way back to Boston
2. Describe the different versions of the Battle of Lexington given by the participants. Also describe how the two historians characterized the two sides in the confrontation.

3. Are there any reasons why one of the accounts seems more or less believable than the others? Consider some of the following criteria:
    - Who tells the story? (A colonist, British soldier, etc.)
    - To whom or to what is the story told (Sworn testimony, someone telling a friend, someone writing in a diary)
    - Does the story contradict known facts?
4. Based upon your evaluation of the eyewitnesses and historians' accounts, tell who you think probably fired the first shot.
5. After considering the questions stated below, explain who you think was the aggressor (i.e., who started the conflict).
    - Could the British have permitted the colonists to continue gathering arms and preparing for war?
    - Could Pitcairn have ignored the armed force standing on the Green and marched past it?
    - Were the colonists looking for an incident like the Boston Massacre to gain support for their side?
    - Could the colonists allow Britain to enforce the Intolerable Acts without putting up some resistance?
    - Could the colonists be expected to permit the British to capture their weapons and take their leaders?
    - Were the British too eager to teach the colonists a lesson?

Sources

1. Adapted from *American Archives, Fourth series, Volume II*, edited by Peter Force (Washington, DC: Clark and Force, 1839), pp. 437-438.
2. Adapted from *Nineteenth of April, 1775: Concord and Lexington*, by Harold Murdock (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1987, reprint of 1923 ed.).
3. Adapted from *American Archives*, pp. 495-496.
4. Adapted from *American Archives*, pp. 298-299.
5. Adapted from *The History of the Reign of George III to the Termination of the Late War*, by Robert Bisset (Philadelphia, PA: Levie and Weaver, 1811), pp. 5-6.
6. Adapted from *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, by George Bancroft (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1858), pp. 292-296.

CHAPTER 13: BY WHAT RIGHT – THE STATE OF NATURE AND THE RIGHT TO REBEL

You are driving down the street. The light has just turned red. You could probably sneak through before cars start coming from the other road. Suddenly you think if everyone could decide to stop or go whenever they wanted, there would be a lot of accidents. But what if the stoplight were on a four-lane highway in the middle of a desert and there were no cars for miles around? How would that change your thinking?

When the colonists began breaking Britain's laws, they raised some very important questions about when people have the right to break the law. After all, if people can decide which laws to obey and which to break, won't that create mass confusion? On the other hand, if no one disobeyed an unfair law, maybe it would never be changed.

The State of Nature and the Social Contract

Hundreds of years ago, people in Europe believed that God gave kings their rights to rule. If the king was bad, most people believed he had been sent to punish the people for their sins. Opposing the king was a sin against God.

In the 100 years before the American Revolution, however, the English had overthrown and beheaded one king, Charles I, in 1649. They kicked another one, James II, out of England in 1688.

Philosophers worked hard to make logical arguments giving the English people the right to do what they had done. Of course, the same reasons used to give the English the right to overthrow Charles I and James II could be and were used by the colonists against George III!

In trying to find an answer to the question of when people may break laws, philosophers tried to imagine a time before there were any laws. They called these times a *state of nature*. Philosophers were not sure that there ever was a time when there were no laws to govern people, but they found it helpful to think about what life would be like under such circumstances.

A famous philosopher, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) is still remembered more than 300 years after his death for his arguments opposing revolutions. Hobbes believed that people were basically evil. In a state of nature, people would kill each other. Life, in his words, would be "short, nasty, and brutish."

To prevent themselves from getting killed, people formed a government. The main job of this government would be to protect people from each other. In forming the government, people were forming something philosophers called a *social contract*. The contract was an agreement that people made with their government – the government would protect the people from one another. In exchange, the people promised to obey the government.

According to Hobbes, the people had to obey the government, even if it was bad, for no matter how bad the government got, it was better than going back to a state of nature.

Another View of the State of Nature and the Social Contract

Not everyone agreed with Hobbes that people were basically evil. There are many who believe people generally are good. Therefore, in a state of nature people would not be killing each other; instead, all people would be basically free and equal. The only reason they entered into a social contract (formed a government) was to protect the rights they already had. If the government started taking away the rights it was supposed to protect, people had the right to change the government. If they could not change it peacefully and legally, they could use force.

The famous British philosopher, John Locke, believed that people were basically free and equal in the state of nature. His ideas were written in a famous book called *Two Treatises on Government*. The

book was published in England but was brought to the colonies. Thomas Jefferson was one of the many colonists who read Locke's books. As we will see, Jefferson not only used some of Locke's ideas in the Declaration of Independence, he even used some of his words.

In Their Own Words

The statements below are in the words of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. They are presented in this way to help you understand how the thinking of these two famous philosophers differs on these important ideas.

The State of Nature

Thomas Hobbes

In such condition there is no place for industry because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and continual fear of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

John Locke

We must consider what state all men are naturally in, and that is a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose [sell or give away] of their possessions and persons as they think fit....A state also of equality, no one having more than another.

The Social Contract

Thomas Hobbes

Without terror of some power to cause them to be observed, justice, equity, modesty, and mercy are contrary to our natural passions. Covenants [contracts or agreement] without the sword are but words, and of no strength to secure man at all. The only way to erect such a common power is for men to confer all their strength on one man or one assembly of men that may reduce their wills unto one will.

John Locke

The great and chief end of man's uniting into commonwealths [governments] is the preservation of their property; to which in the state of nature there are many things wanting.

The Right to Rebel

Thomas Hobbes

They that are subject to a king cannot without his leave, cast him off and return to the confusion of disunited multitude...If there had it must have carried the seeds of its decay in its very constitution...Such a system can only produce perpetual dissensions and contests and bring back mankind to a supposed state of nature, arming every man's hand against every man.

John Locke

Whensoever the legislative shall transgress this fundamental rule of society, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people put into their hands, and it devolves to the people who have a right to resume their original safety and liberty.

Hobbes and Locke Today

You may be a follower of Hobbes or Locke without knowing it. The modern follower of Hobbes believes that people can't be trusted and must be controlled. These people generally believe that the government must make clear rules and enforce them with very stiff penalties. Teachers who believe this way are very strict. Judges who believe this way give stiff fines and long jail terms. People who

believe this way often favor the death penalty as a way of scaring people into good behavior. Hobbes's followers would seek strict enforcement of all laws.

Those who follow Locke believe that people are basically good. They ask for mild and fair rules and teaching by example. Trust is more important than punishment. Teachers who believe this way run more relaxed classrooms. Judges who believe this way may give shorter prison terms. People who believe this way may oppose the death penalty. Locke's followers would rather change an unfair law than punish those who break it.

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly explain the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
    - state of nature
    - social contract
    - Charles I and James II
    - state of nature according to Hobbes
    - state of nature according to Locke
    - right to rebel according to Locke
    - right to rebel according to Hobbes
    - Thomas Jefferson
    - follower of Hobbes today
    - follower of Locke today
2. Who do you basically agree with – Hobbes or Locke? How does that alter your thinking about obeying the law? Explain.
3. Make an argument for or against the colonists' use of Hobbes's or Locke's thinking to support their actions.

CHAPTER 14: UNDERSTANDING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

After the battles at Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May 1775. The delegates voted to resist the British and named George Washington commander of the colonial army.

It was not until a year later, however, that the delegates voted to officially declare the colonies' independence. A committee was chosen to write a document. Thomas Jefferson, known for the clarity of his thinking, took the lead in writing the document, known as the Declaration of Independence. Adopted on July 4, 1776, it presents the colonists' views on government and their reasons for rebelling against England. In this chapter, you will analyze this important document, reading key portions and memorizing its moving statement of philosophy.

Organization of the Declaration

Like most historic documents, the Declaration of Independence needs some explanation. One way to begin understanding it is to see that it is divided into four important, interrelated but separate parts:

1. The *introduction*, which tells people what the Declaration is going to do.

2. A statement of the *philosophy of government* on which the Declaration is based.

3. A list of *grievances* against Great Britain, justifying the Revolution.

4. A statement *declaring independence*.

Introduction

The introduction states the reasons for writing the Declaration:

> When in the Course of human Events it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal station...they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

In other words, since the colonies found it necessary to rebel against Great Britain, they should explain why they were doing so.

Statement of the Philosophy of Government

Having established the reason for writing the Declaration, Jefferson stated the philosophy of government by which this country justified its Revolution. His words echoed the ideas of John Locke regarding the state of nature:

> We hold these Truths to be self evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.

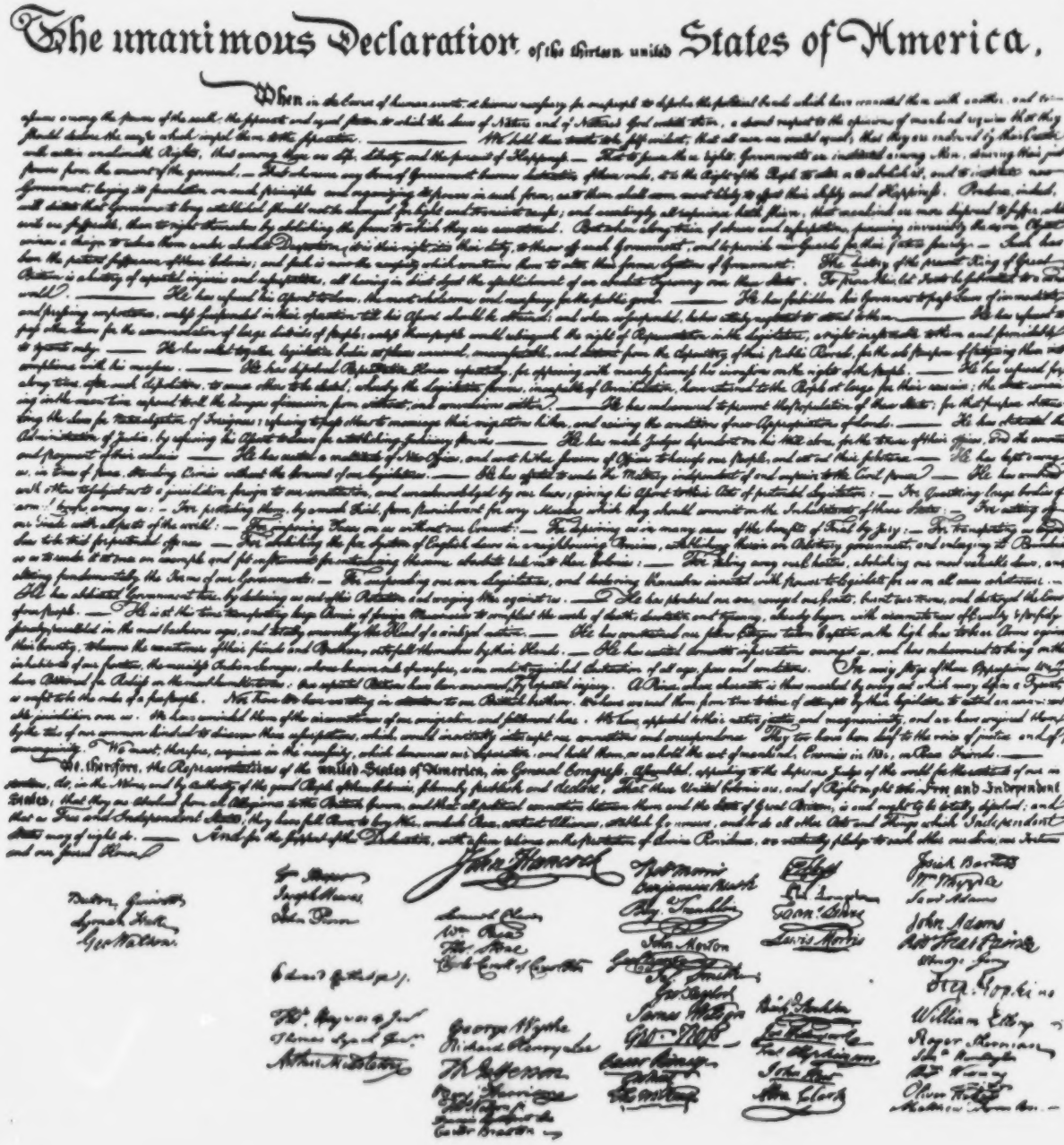
Next, Jefferson explained why governments are formed, holding to Locke's contract theory of government:

> That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed...

Jefferson then explained what people should do if and when the government took away the rights it was established to protect. Here again, his thinking paralleled the ideas Locke had written about:

IN CONGRESS. JULY 4. 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,



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> That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government...

Does this mean that revolutions should be attempted often or for minor reasons? Jefferson's answer was no:

> Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes... But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them to absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a Government...

List of Grievances

Since people should rebel when deprived of their rights, it followed that the Declaration would give examples of how the British took away the colonists' rights. In this section, Jefferson focused first on what the king of England did and then on what the king did together with Parliament. This list, though much abbreviated here, is a long one:

- He has obstructed the Administration of Justice...
- He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone...
- He has...sent Swarms of Officers to harass our People...
- He has kept among us in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.
- He has affected to render the Military independent and superior to the Civil Power.
- He has combined with others (Parliament) to subject to us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

  > For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us.
  >
  > For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent.
  >
  > For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury.
  >
  > For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering...the Forms of our Governments:
  >
  > For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

- He has abdicated Government here, by...waging War against us.
- He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.
- He is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the Works of death...and Tyranny...

A lengthy article condemning Great Britain and King George for the slave trade was omitted due to the objections of delegates from the slave states, as well as those from the New England states that also profitted from the slave trade.

Statement Declarating Independence

Finally, Jefferson came to the conclusion that logically followed from his arguments:

> We, therefore,...solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES...And for the support of this Declaration...we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

Thus, Thomas Jefferson included the philosophy of government on which this nation was founded in a statement of the causes of the American Revolution. This Declaration is world-famous for the beauty of its words and its high ideals. It has inspired millions of people all over the world to work toward the great ideals it expressed. Many have been moved to use the words of this document to justify their causes.

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly explain the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
   - the four major parts of the Declaration of Independence
   - the two truths Jefferson said were self-evident
   - rights of all people
   - what Jefferson said was the purpose of government
   - the people's right if the government does not do what it is formed to do
   - three rights taken away from the colonists by the British
   - the United Colonies
2. Memorize the statement of philosophy on which the Declaration of Independence was based, beginning with "We hold these truths to be self-evident" and ending with "to institute new government."
3. With which of the following statements are you most (and least) in agreement? Explain your answers.
   - The Declaration of Independence gives an accurate interpretation of the causes of the American Revolution and the ideals for which it was fought.
   - The Declaration of Independence is a very idealistic statement, which was probably not accepted by most of the men who signed it. It really was more propaganda than a statement of America's beliefs.
   - The Declaration of Independence states the ideals all Americans should work hard to bring about in their times.

CHAPTER 15: PATRIOTS AND TORIES

Even on the eve of the American Revolution, only an estimated one-third of the colonists – known as Patriots – were fully committed to independence. About one-third were undecided, and the rest remained loyal to Great Britain. The most important battle of the Revolution was not fought with guns and swords for English arms, but with words and ideas for American minds. Many of the issues involved in this ongoing battle should be familiar to you. Nine of them are listed below so that you can examine and argue some of the important issues that excited and separated the colonists.

The Issues

1. Mercantile laws. Did they really hurt the colonies, or did the colonists gain more than they lost?

2. The French and Indian War. Was it started by England and fought for her benefit, or by the colonists and fought for theirs?

3. Problems of Empire. Should the frontier have been closed temporarily? Were soldiers needed to defend the colonies? Should the trade laws have been enforced?

4. The Stamp Act and Virtual Representation. Should the colonists have been made to pay this tax?

5. Forms of Protest. Did the colonists show an undue disrespect for property and the rights of others?

6. The Boston Massacre. Did the British soldiers fire in self-defense, or were they guilty of voluntary manslaughter?

7. The Tea Party and Intolerable Acts. Was throwing tea into Boston Harbor justified? Did Massachusetts deserve its punishment?

8. The Battle of Lexington. Who was the aggressor?

9. The Declaration of Independence. Did the colonists really have the right to revolt?

Chapter Questions

1. Study the issues assigned to you by reviewing your notes and the chapters in which they were covered. Come to class prepared to argue as a Patriot or Tory or to ask questions that will be difficult for Patriots or Tories to answer.

2. In class, work with fellow Patriots or fellow Tories on presenting your arguments in a statement with a thesis and foreshadowing. Note how the points you have prepared to argue fit together:

   The American Revolution was justified (thesis) because the colonists did not benefit from living within the British Empire (foreshadowing point 1), the British constantly instigated conflicts with the colonists (foreshadowing point 2), and the British were denying the colonists the rights they were supposed to protect (foreshadowing point 3).

   OR

   The American Revolution was not justified (thesis) because the colonists benefited from living under British rule (foreshadowing point 1), failed to pay their fair share of taxes or obey reasonable laws (foreshadowing point 2), and forfeited their so-called rights by their provocative acts and failure to live up to the principles they were supposedly fighting to protect (foreshadowing point 3).

Note: Students who did not prepare this assignment will work in class to refine their questions challenging the debaters.

CHAPTER 16: THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In the beginning of this unit, we looked at four questions asked by historians:

- What were the social, economic, and political conditions of the time?
- What were the important events?
- Who was "right"? That is, what should have been done?
- Why did these events happen? What was the most important underlying reason for the events and actions of people at that time?

You have already been asked the first three questions. Now you are going to be challenged to answer the fourth.

Historians and the Causes of the Revolution

Historians talk about two kinds of causes – immediate and underlying. Immediate causes are specific "trigger" events; the battle at Lexington could be described as an immediate cause of the American Revolution.

Underlying causes take place over a longer period of time leading up to the "trigger" event. For example, you might say the underlying causes of the American Revolution were differences over political principles, such as Britain's trying to make money from the colonies through mercantile laws, or the ideals of the colonists and their struggle for political freedom.

In fact, well-known historians disagree over the underlying causes of the American Revolution. Furthermore, different interpretations are accepted during different times. Only three of the many interpretations are discussed in this chapter. These interpretations are (1) the political, or "the good vs. bad guys" theory; (2) the economic, or "people were out to make money" theory; and (3) the psychological, or "the mutual suspicions" theory.

The Political Interpretation

During the period immediately after the Revolution, most Americans naturally were filled with patriotic pride. They saw the leaders who made the Revolution, men such as George Washington and Sam Adams, as great patriots who had led them in a fight for freedom against a cruel and ruthless enemy. In fact, you could make some comparison with the leaders of the Revolution and the star football players who have just won a big game against a very tough opponent. Both are seen as heroes who fought hard for victory and deserve much praise. In the following paragraph, historian George Bancroft described Revolutionary leaders as inspired patriots:*

> The men of Boston, whose fathers came to the wilderness for freedom to say their prayers, would not fear to take up arms against a set of laws which made them slaves....These men were more than noble blood. They proved by their spirit they were of a divine race. They gave their lives for the rights of mankind....They fulfilled their duty not as an impulsive act, but from the ripened fruit of Providence (fate decreed by God). The light that led them on, was combined of rays from the whole history of the race; from the example of Him (Jesus) who laid down His life on the cross for the life of Humanity; from the religion which proclaimed the divine presence in man.[1]

*While Bancroft's statement exaggerates, most Americans still think of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and others who made the American Revolution as heroes who fought nobly for a just cause.

The Economic Interpretation

During the early 1900s, many Americans were unhappy over the way workers were treated by their employers, over high prices charged by business, and over poor working conditions. People who wanted to make changes were opposed by politicians, who supported the businesses. People thought their country was being run by politicians who were paid to help rich businesses at the expense of poor workers.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that historians during this period looked for profit motives among America's revolutionaries and their opponents in Great Britain. They thought businessmen on both sides of the Atlantic were interested primarily in the fur trade, tea, and other monopolies – and not in anyone's unalienable rights. In the following paragraph, Andrew Hacker presents the economic interpretation of the American Revolution:

> The events of 1763-75 can have no meaning unless we understand that English colonial policy never really changed. Its main purpose was to protect the English capitalists' [businessmen's] interests which now were in danger as a result of increased competition from the colonial capitalists. English statesmen yielded quickly when no fundamental principle was at stake. But they became insistent when these profits were being threatened. If the raising of colonial revenue were the issue, how can we explain the quick repeal of the Stamp and the Townshend Acts?...The struggle was not over high-sounding political and constitutional concepts, over the power of taxation, or even in the final analysis over natural rights. It was over colonial manufacturing, wild lands and furs, sugar, wine, tea, and currency, all of which meant, simply, the survival or collapse of English mercantile capitalism within the imperial framework of the mercantilistic system.[2]

The Psychological Interpretation

The third interpretation is possible because psychology has given us greater understanding of why people act as they do. The psychological interpretation says that distrust or suspicion caused people to act in ways that created even more distrust. Thus, the British thought the colonists were acting like spoiled children and needed to be shown who was boss, but the punishment only made the colonists become even more rebellious, further convincing the British that they needed to be taught a lesson. Meanwhile, Britain's acts were interpreted as evidence that it was an "unfit parent" and had to be shown that the colonists would stand up for their rights. In so doing, the colonists made the British even more suspicious and unreasonable.

In the following paragraphs, historian Bernard Bailyn shows how mutual suspicions might have caused the American Revolution:

> The colonists believed they saw emerging from the many events during the decade after the Stamp Act, a pattern whose meaning was unmistakable. They saw about them with increasing clarity, not only mistaken or even evil policies, violating the principles on which freedom was based. They thought they saw nothing less than deliberate policies intending nothing less than an assault against liberty both in England and in America.
>
> The opponents of the Revolution – the administration (King George and his officials) were convinced that they were the victims of a great conspiracy. Officials in the colonies and their superiors in England were persuaded as the crisis deepened that they were confronted by an active conspiracy of intriguing men whose professions hid their true intentions.
>
> The beliefs and fears expressed on one side of the Revolutionary controversy were as sincere as those expressed on the other. The result was an "escalation" of distrust toward a disastrous deadlock; "The Americans," Burke (a British leader) said, "have

made a discovery, or think they have made one, that we mean to oppress them; we have made a discovery, or think we have made one, that they intend to rise in rebellion against us. We know not how to advance; they know not how to retreat. Some party must give way."[3]

Chapter Questions

1. Identify or define and briefly explain the importance to the chapter of each of the following:
   - four kinds of questions asked in this unit
   - immediate cause
   - underlying cause
   - three interpretations of the Revolution's causes
   - George Bancroft
   - "not fear to take up arms"
   - Andrew Hacker
   - three examples of economic activity given by Hacker
   - Bernard Bailyn
   - "deliberate policies" and "active conspiracy"
2. Use one of the three interpretations to explain the Boston Tea Party and the Intolerable Acts. Prepare to defend that interpretation.
3. Outline an explanation of the causes of the American Revolution using one of the three interpretations given above. Cover as many of the following topics as you can:
   - the argument over taxes *or* the argument over trade laws (you may consider the mercantile laws, Proclamation of 1763, writs of assistance, use of Admiralty courts for alleged smugglers, Stamp Act, Townshend duties, Tea Tax and Tea Act, and closing Boston Harbor).
   - the colonists' statement of their objections to British policies (you may consider Patrick Henry's Virginia Resolves, statements by the Stamp Act Congress and Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia, and the Declaration of Independence).
   - violence by the colonists and the British response to that violence (you may consider the destruction of tea in the Tea Party, the response through the Intolerable Acts, gathering of weapons, march to Concord, Battle of Lexington, battle by Concord Bridge, and seige of Boston).
   - why an interpretation other than yours is weak and incorrect.
4. With your teacher's help, expand your outline into a major essay of no fewer than 800 words. Your essay should contain:
   - a thesis statement, telling what you are going to prove.
   - foreshadowing, stating in a sentence or two each of the major points you plan to cover.
   - a main body in which each argument you foreshadowed is developed separately, logically, and factually.
   - a conclusion, summarizing your major arguments.

Sources

1. Adapted from *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, Volume VII, by George Bancroft (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1858), pp. 292-296.

2. Adapted from *The Triumph of American Capitalism*, by Andrew Hacker (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940), pp. 145-170. © 1940, 1967 by Simon and Schuster, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Simon and Schuster, Inc.

3. Adapted from *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, by Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1967), pp. 94-95, 150-151, 158-159. © 1967 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Reprinted by permission.